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ABSTRACT

Presented are background information, discussion group reports, and addresses from a citizenship conference held in Washington, D.C. in May 1948. Sponsored by the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, the conference centered on the theme, "Citizenship: Rights and Responsibilities." Speeches and discussion are presented on three major topics: the world-minded American citizen, basic human rights and attendant responsibilities, and citizenship in action in the local community. Speakers included educators, college presidents, government officials, politicians, members of the clergy, foundation and non-profit organization representatives, congressmen, and media representatives. Summaries of discussion on the major topics revealed group concensus on issues including that Americans should become world-minded citizens, find ways of achieving jointly held values democratically, support agencies working toward mass communication, set standards and patterns of action to assure human rights, support equality of opportunity, realize that all communities are interdependent, and fulfill citizenship duties on local, state, and national levels. (DB)

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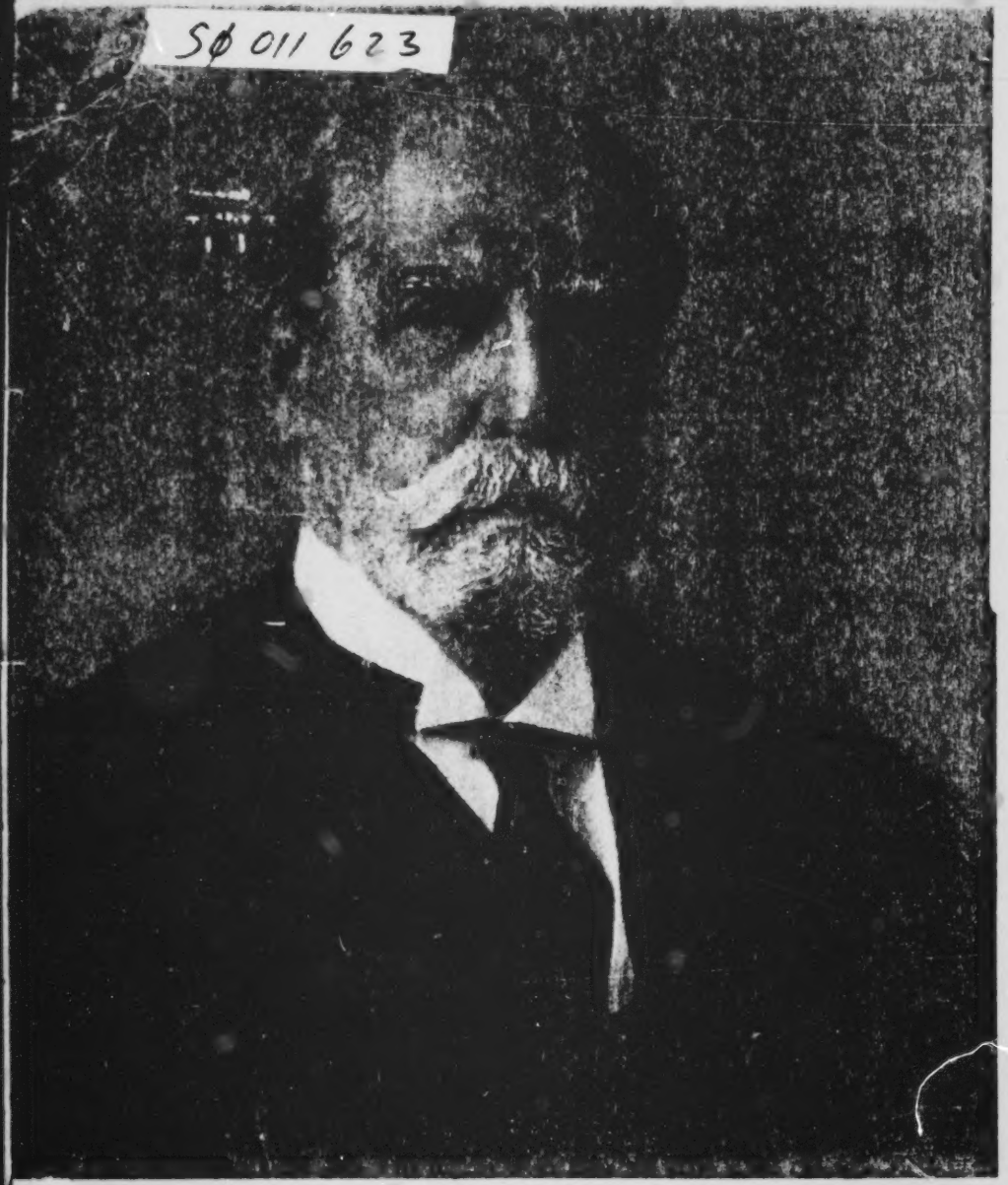

HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE

The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes

1862-1948

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THIRD

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Under Auspices
of the
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
and the
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
MAY 16-19, 1948

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THREE faiths have we: legislation, education, participation, and the greatest of these is participation. Participation means that all of us, everyone, regardless of faith, race, sex, ethnic background, regardless of nationality, get together. Participation means that the world gets together to solve its problems. This is an ideal to which we hold with strength and tenacity.

—THIRD THUMBNAIL REPORT
THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Charles Evans Hughes
1862-1948

Secretary of State in the Cabinets of two Presidents—

Appointed to the United States Supreme Court twice, in two different administrations, the second time to serve for eleven years as Chief Justice—

Himself so near the Presidency that when the nation went to sleep on November 7, 1916, he was thought to be elected—

Charles Evans Hughes has a secure place in American history. The entire nation grieved at his passing August 27, 1948.

Mr. Hughes, in informal and formal speech, and in actions, sought always to place emphatic value on the American heritage of citizenship—its responsibilities as well as its rights. He lent the prestige of his name as Honorary Chairman for both the Second National Conference on Citizenship in Boston and the Third National Conference in Washington. Among his mourners are those organizers of and delegates to these Conferences who felt the strength of his faith and the greatness of his wisdom. One of Mr. Hughes' last public acts was to send greetings to the Third National Conference.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1948

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

It is a genuine pleasure to extend my heartfelt greetings and sincerest wishes to all those participating in the Third National Conference on Citizenship -- a conference so timely and so important.

There is no more precious possession today than United States citizenship. A nation is no stronger than its citizenry. With many problems facing us daily in this perplexing and trying era, it is vital that we have a unity of purpose -- to the end that freedom, justice, and opportunity, good will and happiness may be assured ourselves and peoples everywhere.

Efforts to make and keep America strong are all-important to our Nation's welfare. Organizations that the conference represents are our country's life lines -- stimulating the best and adding strength to American living. They have tremendous influence and can make a significant contribution to the cause of better citizenship and good government.

I feel sure that the deliberations of the conference on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship will have a constructive and lasting effect on the future of our beloved country.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

The Honorable
The Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

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HENRY M. WRISTON, president, Brown University

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RALPH E. MCGILL, *Editor*, The Atlanta Constitution
GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., *Moderator*

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SUGGESTION

If you can read only one section of this report, we suggest that you turn now and read the thumbnail reports of the conference. The speakers, whose names and titles will tell you with what eloquence and authority they speak, would be the first to urge you to give the reports precedence, I am sure. Reason: The reports contain the best thinking and the epigrammatic statements from approximately one thousand delegates, leaders from their national organizations and from the nation. After you have read the reports, you will assuredly want to read the speeches which helped to inspire the fine thinking that came out of the groups.

RICHARD B. KENNAN, *director*
Citizenship Conference Program for the National Education Association

PLAN OF CONFERENCE

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Challenge

Put democracy's "creed into deed!"

B..ild together tomorrow's world!

Accept responsibilities that are the counter-balance against which rights must be weighed.

This challenge confronts not only individuals but organizations, not only single groups but all the groups that might work together toward the mutual goal: alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizens with both courage to tackle and ability to solve the perilous problems of today.

History

The series of national citizenship conferences that began in Philadelphia, May 17-18, 1946, grew out of the effort of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association to discover what was being done in the field of citizenship and to cooperate wi h other organizations working in the same area. Both the first conference in Philadelphia and the second conference in Boston, May 8-10, 1947, had the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice, under the administration of The Honorable Tom C. Clark, Attorney General. In the third conference the Department of Justice became co-sponsor with the Association.

Objectives of the Conference

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world;

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective;

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

Theme

For the Third National Conference, the Advisory Committee suggested as the theme

"Citizenship: Rights and Responsibilities"

The program, centering on this theme, was divided into three parts, each introduced by a keynote speech and followed by a discussion period. Varying from the pattern of previous years where conferees discussed

the contributions of special-interest groups to citizenship, this year all groups considered simultaneously the same problems:

1. The world-minded American citizen
2. Basic human rights and attendant responsibilities
3. Citizenship in action in the local community.

Reasons for the Conferences

In calling the national conferences on citizenship, the committee in charge has had in mind from the beginning the following pertinent points:

That never before in the history of the world has it been so important to keep civic interest and participation at a high level;

That there are many leading national organizations which play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

That these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

That the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased many fold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

That there are practices, programs, and techniques which are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques which are of doubtful or negative value;

That there is need for a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

That there is often a tendency for sincerely interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

That there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs which have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

That the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs which have proved successful;

That it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in conferences representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the concrete objectives as stated on the opposite page.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

SUNDAY, MAY 16

2:00 P.M.

Sylvan Theater, Washington Monument Grounds

District of Columbia "I Am an American Day" Program

Chairman of the committee: Herbert J. Jacobi

3:00 to 6:00 P.M.

Great Hall, Department of Justice

Registration and Exhibits

MONDAY, MAY 17

9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Great Hall, Department of Justice

Registration and Exhibits

10:00 A.M.

Auditorium, Department of Interior

Opening General Session

Presiding: Dr. John W. Studebaker, *United States Commissioner of Education*

Music: United States Army Band

Massing of Colors: American Legion National Guard of Honor

Invocation: Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, *Pastor, Foundry Methodist Church*

Greetings from the President and Welcome to the Conference

The Honorable Tom C. Clark, *Attorney General of the United States*

Greetings from the Honorary Chairman of the Conference, The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes

General Theme of the Conference: Citizenship—Rights and Responsibilities

The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, *United States Department of Justice*

Keynote for Afternoon Discussion: The World-Minded American Citizen

Dr. William G. Carr, *Associate Secretary, National Education Association*

Retirement of Colors: American Legion National Guard of Honor

12:15 P.M.

Luncheon, Informal

2:00 to 4:30 P.M.

First Session of Discussion Groups

7:00 P.M.

Statler Hotel, Presidential Room

Banquet, Informal

Presiding: The Honorable Willis Smith, *Past-President, American Bar Association*

Invocation: Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, *Washington Hebrew Congregation*

First Thumbnail Reports

Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia, University*

Address: Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities, with Particular Reference to the Naturalized Citizen

The Honorable Watson B. Miller, *Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

Keynote for morning discussion: Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities

Dr. T. V. Smith, *Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago*

TUESDAY, MAY 18

9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Great Hall, Department of Justice

Registration and Exhibits

9:00 to 11:30 A.M.

Second Session of Discussion Groups

12:15 P.M.

Washington Hotel, Hall of Nations

General Luncheon

Presiding: Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, *Chief, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency*

Invocation: Colonel Alfred C. Oliver, *"Chaplain of Bataan"*

Second Thumbnail Reports: Dr. Ruth Cunningham

Address: A Practical Experiment in Citizenship Training on the Local Level

The Honorable Robert G. Simmons, *Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Nebraska*

Keynote for Afternoon Discussion: Citizenship in Action in the Local Community

Mrs. Rhea M. Eckel, *Executive Secretary, New York State Citizens' Council*

2:00 to 3:30 P.M.

Third Session of Discussion Groups

3:50 P.M.

The White House

President's Reception

7:00 P.M.

Constitution Hall

General Session

Presiding: Dr. Willard E. Givens, *Executive Secretary, National Education Association*

Music: Symphony of Americana, United States Marine Band

Massing of the Colors: Junior Daughters of American Revolution

National Anthem and Pledge of Allegiance: Entire Assembly

Address: "No Greater Joy, No Greater Duty"

The Honorable Tom C. Clark, *Attorney General of the United States*

America's Town Meeting of the Air: How Should Democracy Deal with Groups That Aim To Destroy Democracy?

Participants:

Senator Robert A. Taft *of Ohio*

Representative Richard M. Nixon *of California*

The Honorable Thurman W. Arnold, *Former Justice, Circuit Court of Appeals, District of Columbia*

Mr. Ralph E. McGill, *Editor, Atlanta Constitution*

Dr. George V. Denny, Jr., *Moderator*

Retirement of Colors

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19

10:00 A.M.

Auditorium, Department of Interior

Final Session

Presiding: Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, *Chairman, Citizenship Committee, National Education Association, and President, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland*

Music: United States Army Band

Invocation: The Very Reverend Lawrence C. Gorman, S. J., *President, Georgetown University*

Third Thumbnail Reports: Dr. Ruth Cunningham

Closing Address: A Free and Faithful Citizen

The Honorable Donald R. Richberg, *Author and Attorney*

National Anthem

DISCUSSION GROUP LEADERS

For each group, first listed is the discussion chairman; second, the reports chairman.

Group 1—M. CHANNING WAGNER, assistant superintendent of schools, Wilmington, Delaware—representing Kiwanis International as immediate past governor; CHARLES E. BISH, principal McKinley High School, Washington, D. C.

Group 2—HARRY BARD, assistant director, Department of Education, Baltimore; NOAH C. TURPEN, superintendent, Owensboro Public Schools, Owensboro, Kentucky

Group 3—WHIT BROGAN, director of field staff, Bureau for Intercultural Education; WILBUR F. MURRA, assistant secretary, Educational Policies Commission, NEA

Group 4—FRANCIS H. HORN, dean, McCoy College, Johns Hopkins University; RUTH COYNER LITTLE, assistant director, Division of Publications, NEA

Group 5—PAUL DOUGLASS, president, American University; LYLE W. ASHBY, associate director, Division of Publications, NEA

Group 6—ROBERT B. HUDSON, Director of Education and Opinion Broadcasts, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.; JULIAN C. ALDRICH, assistant professor of education, New York University

Group 7—ROBERT A. WALKER, director, Institute of Citizenship, Kansas State College; EVERETT C. PRESTON, director, Division of Adult Education, New Jersey State Department of Education

Group 8—DAN PYLE, judge, St. Joseph Circuit Court, South Bend, Indiana; ABRAHAM B. KAPPLIN, director, National Committee on Veterans Affairs, and director, National Commission on Americanism and Civic Affairs, B'nai B'rith

Group 9—A. T. MOLLEGEN, professor of Christian ethics, Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia; LEO SHAPIRO, director, Department of Education, Anti-Defamation League

Group 10—MARGUERITE H. BURNETT, director, Adult Education, Delaware Department of Public Instruction; SHIRLEY COOPER, assistant director, Division of Rural Service, NEA

Group 11—EDWIN H. MINER, associate commissioner, United States Office of Education; SAMUEL EVERETT, director, Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter, Junior Red Cross

Group 12—LAWRENCE A. OXLEY, assistant Veterans' Employment Representative, United States Department of Labor

Group 13—ALICE KELIHER, School of Education, New York University; LOIS M. CLARK, assistant director, Division of Rural Service, NEA

Group 14—BEVERLEY M. BOYD, executive secretary, Department of Social Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; JOHN W. DAVIS, president, West Virginia State College

Group 15—MERRILL F. HARTSHORN, executive secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, NEA; MRS. ARTHUR G. LAUFMAN, national director of B'nai B'rith Women's Activities

Group 16—ROY A. PRICE, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs; LEWIS PAUL TODD, editor, *Social Education*, Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies

Group 17—JOHN A. LEDLIE, National YMCA; ABRAM ORLOW, B'nai B'rith

Group 18—L. PAUL WININGS, general counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice; HOWARD R. ANDERSON, chief, Instructional Problems, division of Secondary Education, United States Office of Education

Group 19—DAN W. DODSON, executive director, Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City; FRANCIS J. DALY, director of adjustment services, Boston Public Schools

Group 20—ANNA M. KROSS, city magistrate, Magistrates' Court, City of New York; DENNISON I. RUSSINOW, senior, St. Petersburg (Florida) High School

Group 21—WILLIAM B. WELCH, president, United States National Student Association, Berea College; WILLIAM J. FLYNN, national education adviser, American Junior Red Cross

Group 22—JOSEPH K. BOLTZ, Citizenship Education Study, Detroit; H. H. GILES, executive director, Bureau for Intercultural Education

Group 23—GERTRUDE HANKAMP, executive secretary, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA; BURRITT C. HARRINGTON, extension professor, West Virginia University

Group 24—RHEA M. ECKEL, executive secretary, New York State Citizens' Council; FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, editor, National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, and professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland

Group 25—JOANNA Z. CONNELL, assistant director in Department of Practice and Training, Boston Public Schools; MILDRED FENNER, assistant director, Division of Publications, NEA

Group 26—HYMAN M. FORSTENZER, chief, Field Service Division, National Institute of Social Relations; FRED A. FORBES, Field Representative, New Jersey Education Association

Group 27—CARLILE BOLTON-SMITH, counsel to the Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense; GERALD M. VAN POOL, director of Student Activities, National Association of Secondary-School Principals, NEA

Group 28—WILLIAM SHORROCK, editor, *Civic Leader*, Civic Education Service; GORDON COLE, editor, *The Machinist*

The entire conference was saddened by the sudden death on May 18, of Joseph K. Boltz coordinator in the Citizenship Education Study of the Detroit Public Schools. Mr. Boltz was serving as discussion chairman of Group 22.

(a) The job is not one of finding the leader, but of finding leaders. . . . (b) There is, almost without exception, a far greater resource of leaders than we realize. . . . (c) Leaders, particularly professional leaders (which includes many of us), tend to cling jealously to their area of leadership, rather than use their influence to develop leadership in others. (d) Leaders, particularly leaders in influential organizations (and that includes many of us), tend to use their leadership to further the particular organization, rather than to lead people in ways that are important to them. (e) Leaders, good leaders, emerge when sound group process is applied to the solution of real problems. Predetermined "fair-haired boys" are seldom good leaders. (f) Many of these ideas about leaders and leadership tend to be irritating to us, the leaders, but we must be big enough to recognize their validity if we are to be true leaders of people.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

FEATURES OF THE CONFERENCE

"I Am an American Day"

"I Am an American Day," Sunday, May 16, 1948, was to be observed by a gigantic outdoor celebration in the Sylvan Theater, Washington Monument grounds with the local "I Am an American Day" Committee in charge of the arrangements. Conference delegates were to be guests of honor. That rain prevented this opening feature of the program was one of the disappointments of the conference.

Reception at the White House

The hundreds of delegates to the Conference gathered on Tuesday afternoon at 3:50 in the Rose Garden at the White House where they were received by the President. President Truman spoke informally to the group from the gallery of the Executive Office, welcoming the delegates to the city and urging a world view of American citizenship responsibilities.

Town Meeting of the Air

America's Town Meeting of the Air moved to Washington for its regular broadcast on Tuesday evening, May 18. Outstanding speakers presented pros and cons on "How Should Democracy Deal With Groups that Aim to Destroy Democracy." For excerpts from this feature, see the table of contents.

Exhibits

In the Great Hall of the Department of Justice, and in rooms designated for recordings and movies in the Willard Hotel, approximately 75 national organizations or other agencies exhibited citizenship materials during the Third National Conference. Evan E. Evans was in charge of exhibits, Vernon G. Dameron in charge of motion-picture and recordings demonstrations.

REPORTS OF THE CONFERENCE

THUMBNAIL REPORTS OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

RUTH CUNNINGHAM
Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University

First Report, Monday, May 17

TOPIC: THE WORLD-MINDED AMERICAN CITIZEN

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Third National Conference on Citizenship:

This is the first report *to* you *from* you, by way of your reports chairman, concerning the work of the discussion groups this afternoon.

As you know, the topic was "The World-Minded American Citizen." We discussed two kinds of things this afternoon: one deals with the "what", and the other with the "how." What kind of a person is a world-minded citizen? How can we achieve a world-minded citizenry?

First, for the "what." We seem to agree, in all of our groups, that a good American citizen must be a world-minded citizen. Whenever we talk of the duties and privileges of citizenship, we mean not only national citizenship, but international citizenship as well; moreover, as we develop good international citizens we are making good Americans.

As one group put it, we believe world education involves (a) an understanding of the realities of war; (b) an understanding toward what technology is leading us; (c) an understanding of our economic, social and cultural interdependence. But we must recognize that there is a range of thinking of what we mean by world-mindedness—from mere awareness, to responsible action. It is obvious we need more and clearer thinking as to what we mean when we say "world-mindedness." Each citizen must ask "Where am *I* on the scale?" What do we want to be when we say we want to be "world-minded"? What is a world-minded citizen?

Let's recognize it is not easy for us to define our positions. It is going to take some tough thinking to know what we want, what we mean. We are going to have to see ourselves as others see us; we are going to have to understand the thought processes of others. But no matter how tough the job may be, we seem to agree, in our small groups, that it is one we must face if we are to be world-minded citizens.

We seem to agree, in general, that the world-minded citizen must think in bigger terms than mere nationalism. As Americans, as world citizens, we must quit being merely those who pat themselves on the back; we have to be more than people who pull themselves up by their

own boot straps; we have to start extending our hands and lifting our eyes (and I dare anybody to mix more metaphors in one sentence).

But maybe the "how" of developing world-mindedness is even more important than the "what." We may know what we want, but how are we going to get that way? And I think it was encouraging that in our groups this afternoon there were more comments on the "how" than on the "what."

Job No. 1, it seems, in the minds of all people in all groups, taking priority in time and importance, is ridding ourselves of fear—fear of change, fear that the other fellow will get ahead of us, fear that leads to witch hunting, fear that leads to narrow nationalism, fear that leads to hate, fear that leads to war. And no less important, perhaps, we must rid ourselves of fear that leads to apathy, to an idea that nothing matters. We must rid ourselves of the fear that leads to an attitude that it isn't worth the struggle. Fear, by whatever name, is, in our modern world, death in disguise. Job No. 1, then, is ridding ourselves of fear.

Job No. 2, as indicated by all the groups meeting this afternoon, is development of better means to communication. First, we need to communicate our values. Even more important, perhaps, we need to find means to achieve values jointly and cooperatively—democratically. We need to get together, as nations, in setting standards of what we mean by liberty and justice. We need to think together. As one group put it, "We are sunk before we start if we think, as Americans, that we know all the answers and are to 'convert' the rest of the world." Communication is a two way street. We, as Americans, must understand the world, and we want the world to understand us.

We would like other nations to know about our Constitution and other papers that are basic to American life. We would like them to know our customs and ideals. We would like to know more about the basic ideas and ideals of others. We *must* know more about the basic ideas and ideals of others, if there is to be joint thinking. Beyond this, there is a need to know each other as *people*. We learn by trying, by living, by belonging—let's get together and try it. Let's give youth a chance to be active citizens and to take responsibility in our society. Let's recognize there must be ways for *all* of us to do things together, to live together.

One way to better human relations is to provide programs of exchange—exchange of teachers, members of youth groups, specialists in many fields; exchange of ideas; exchange of correspondence; exchange of films, of radio programs, of newspapers. But to say it again, all groups felt it to be most important that we learn to know each other *as people*. Let's make sure that everyone has a chance to be a part, to belong to an

expanding group. Only in this way, working together, belonging together, can we achieve a common understanding.

One group underlined this as important: "Let's get it *straight* as we communicate. We can't let a distorted press or radio make up our minds for us. We must know fact as it is. Knowing fact should be a major emphasis in programs of citizenship."

Citizenship isn't based on pure intellect alone, however. We need to exploit symbols. We need to have a feeling of "oneness"; a feeling of "weness" in our relations, as well as an understanding of fact.

A third problem, emphasized by all groups, had to do with the need to start *at home* in developing world-mindedness. Let's work in our own backyards. We must exchange ideas among organizations such as those represented here. We must organize action to achieve basic human rights. We must eliminate discrimination. We must learn to solve our group relations within our *own* communities, if we are to be world-minded citizens.

We have available to us at home many avenues. We have places to work; in our schools we can provide equal opportunity if we try. We must provide this equal opportunity. We must provide an opportunity for youngsters in schools to learn to face issues and learn how to handle them. In our communities, thru women's clubs, PTA's, labor groups and other citizens' groups, we must learn to *face* our problems. And as national citizens we must learn to support the UN and Unesco.

Particularly do we need agencies for mass communication. It seemed to several groups that our current agencies of mass communication have not adequately accepted their responsibility.

As we work toward world-mindedness, we need to work both from the top down and from the bottom up. The urgency of events calls for courageous leadership, and for the discovery of new leaders. It calls, too, for mass movements of groups of citizens.

Let's remember this: The laboratory for developing world-mindedness is our own home town. We can start at home and make it work. Moreover, let's be sure that we do some down-to-earth thinking, not indulging in mere enthusiasm. Let's make sense. Let's be understandable, and let's use words that people understand.

"Citizenship must include all of us," say most of the groups. Citizenship education is not merely for children and youth. It is for you, for me, for our neighbors. It is not just kid stuff, but must be the stuff of living for all of us. No, it is not just kid stuff, but let us recognize that prejudices are often learned very early and, therefore, we will need to give some special emphasis to education for our citizens who are growing up. They are our hope for the future.

There was some discussion, in several groups, concerning gifts and relief to people in underprivileged countries. "It is important now," they say, "It is a stopgap. But for the long-term job, after we meet the immediate emergencies, let's remember that gifts will not be as important as reciprocal thinking."

Let's recognize too, that in many respects we are doing a pretty important job now. Much is now going on that is significant. Let's get together and exchange our experience and coordinate our efforts. "If we really *want* to do it, we *can* do it," is the feeling of many groups. As one group put it, "There are no barriers to world-mindedness that education can't solve" thru developing better information, attitudes, and dignity of mind.

"Let's not stop with this conference," say many groups. "This is only a beginning." Each person at this conference becomes a catalytic agent in his organization and area of work.

One group reports a quotation from a citizen: "My wife, she got her citizenship papers. She is so happy she is a-crying." Can we say the same? Can we create this attitude for world-mindedness? Can we be so happy we are world-minded that we are "a-crying"?

Perhaps the gist of it is this: We have taken a tuck in time; we have put a pleat in space; if we are to live comfortably in this tight world, we must let out the old seams of our thinking.

Second Report, Tuesday, May 18

TOPIC: BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND ATTENDANT RESPONSIBILITIES

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Third National Conference on Citizenship: This is the second report to you from you, by way of your reports chairman, concerning the work of the group discussions this morning. The topic was "Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities."

Yesterday, in discussing world-mindedness, you said that one place to start was in our own back yards. Today we have been examining these back yards—our communities, our nation—and have found them not wholly problem-free. Some of the problems we have to face, you say, are these: Too often we talk a nice language while we practice a dirty creed, a creed of intolerance and discrimination. We have in this country, whether we like to admit it or not, both first-class and second-class citizens. We shall never be truly a democracy as long as we force a second-class citizenship on some. No citizen can be truly first class until all are first class. Democracy is not worthy of the name unless it is a democracy for everyone, with equal rights, equal privileges, equal responsibilities for all.

The fault, you say, is not always in one direction; both minorities and majorities contribute to this difficulty, and both must mend their fences.

One group has given us a yardstick for measuring the person who is a citizen of this country, a first-class citizen: A measure of freedom and democracy is the extent to which the individual is able to make his maximum contribution thru his own initiative.

Another group says it should always be kept in mind that equality of opportunity does not mean identity. Moreover, we need to recognize that our differences are perhaps less differences of region than differences of value patterns, regardless of geography. As one group said, the interest in racial discrimination was so keen that most of the time was devoted to it, but the difference of viewpoint was definitely not regional.

Not only must we be willing to face the problems, but, further, we must be willing to face the facts of what we must do about them. These are your suggestions:

The federal government can help. The major function of the federal government, you say, is in assuring human rights in ways such as providing money to assist in equalization, political equality, adequate education for all, health, and alleviation of any group which is suffering from oppression. The government must set standards and patterns of action.

It is important that we have strong national leadership and national action, but national action can't stand unless it has support from state and local organizations and individuals, and that means you and me.

Most groups say, "We support by word and by action the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights." However, there are some who do not agree. One group took a vote which came out twelve to five. In

Reading left to right: Dan Pyle, judge, St. Joseph Circuit Court, South Bend, Indiana; Ruth Cunningham, associate professor, Teachers College, Columbia University; Earle T. Hawkins, president, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland; Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States.

other words, it seems that we have a lot of hard, tough thinking to do if we are to know where we stand on this issue.

Another group decided that the Committee on Civil Rights ought to have added to it some other points. These are the ones they would like to have added: (a) the right to belong to the national group as a useful and productive member, and to live out one's days free from fear of want; (b) the right to listen; and (c) equality of opportunity, socially, politically, economically, educationally, and spiritually for everyone in our country.

Many groups discussed the relative merits of legislation or education. Should we try to solve our problems by legislation or by education? It isn't "either or," it seems, but rather, "both and".

Our laws are improving, according to many groups. Recent Supreme Court decisions are helping implement citizenship, economic and social rights. But laws that die in the dust of law books are no laws at all. When we have the laws, it is our job as citizens to see that they are enforced.

Perhaps there is a greater force than legislation in education, and perhaps there is a greater force than either legislation or education in participation. Participation, you say, is the keynote in the development of citizenship education for the protection and extension of human rights. You cannot talk people into it; you have to work them into it. And by that I think this group meant we need to work together until we are all in it.

A basic method of attaining democracy is the method of pooled judgment. We believe a major method in resolving our more difficult social problems can be thru the exchange of the ideas and the judgments of many people. This meeting, says one group, is an example of working together to achieve pooled judgment. Let us spread this type of problem-solving, they say, to organizations in our own communities, meeting together in small groups to solve our problems thru pooled judgment.

People have to learn to take responsibility. We learn thru practice. Let's help our children learn responsibility thru having a chance to practice it.

Another way of saying this, perhaps, is that a basic element of democracy is freedom to make choices. Let's see that all of us, including our children, have the freedom to learn to make choices wisely. And let's get to know each other as people; the best way to know each other is to work together. Goodness knows, there is enough work to do in our nation. Let's get together, regardless of race, religion, skin color, and money in our pockets, and do the job.

National organizations can be a help to us, as many groups said. National organizations should help members understand what the issues are, the pros and cons. They should encourage discussion and encourage

members to exercise their rights by voting. Organizations can take a stand for the essential rights set forth in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Many groups said, "Let's be honest." One group said that it is important that from time to time we examine our assumptions. What do we really believe? And they suggested three possibilities. Are we really saying that we should concentrate on our own problems here at home and let achievements speak for themselves? Are we saying that we should cooperate with other countries in defining and helping each other to achieve human rights? Or are we saying that we want to force our conception of rights on other people?

Let's recognize, says one group, that people who practice discrimination are hurt almost as intensely as, if not more than, those against whom they discriminate. Let's recognize that in order not to be hypocrites, national organizations represented in this conference should practice equality of opportunity within their own organizations before they issue a credo on democratic citizenship. We decided, says one group, that this nation should practice equality of opportunity within the continental limits of the United States before it places our democracy on a pedestal to be emulated by other nations.

To sum up, I know of no better phrase than this: People—all people, everybody, everywhere—people are important.

Third Report, Wednesday, May 19

TOPIC: CITIZENSHIP IN ACTION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Third National Conference on Citizenship: This is the third report to you from you, via your reports chairman, concerning the work of the group discussions yesterday afternoon. As you know, the topic was: "Citizenship in Action in the Local Community."

In our discussions yesterday afternoon we felt that there were seven ideas worthy of major consideration. Our Idea No. 1 was, "Let's be sure we know where we are." Well, where are we? We are in a different world from that of even a few years ago. That sounds like a mere platitude, but it is terrifyingly true. And too many of our organizations are like Model T engines under the hoods of 1948 Packards. They may look all right, but, brother, they can't get you there.

Each community is interdependent with every other. That is another cliche that sounds simple but scares you when you begin to examine it. No longer is any one community an island, independent of other communities. Yesterday, what happened in Centerville was all that mattered

in Centerville; but, today, what happens in Washington, New York, Paris, London, Moscow, Tokyo and Kukamonga makes a difference in Centerville—and what happens in Centerville makes a difference in the world.

Where are we? Let's face the facts. There are thousands of youngsters in this country who are not in school, and who haven't a chance to be. There are thousands of people in this country who are second-class citizens. There are thousands ill-housed, under-nourished, and ill-clothed. Chambers of commerce may not like to admit it, but it is true.

Let's face the facts. Let's know where we are.

Idea No. 2: Let's be sure we know where we are going and what we are trying to do. Well, who is to decide where we are going? Who knows what we ought to try to do? The answer is: We do: we, all the little people in all the little situations which, combined, become the big, significant forces of our country. We, the people, know that sound progress comes only when we work out our own solutions.

No long-term progress is achieved when we are told by the higher-ups what the solution is or ought to be. We have to work out our solutions ourselves. In line with this same idea, we know it is silly, first, to set up an organization and then to look for something for the organization to do. We need to start with real problems and organize to solve those problems. It is foolish, too, to talk about cooperation for cooperation's sake. People learn to cooperate only when there is a job on which they can work together.

Where are we going? What are we trying to do? Our first job is to get together to think thru our problems and achieve a consensus on our common goals.

Idea No. 3: Cooperation means everybody. We can't name all the "everybodies" but some are so important, or are so frequently overlooked, that we will give them special attention. Everybody includes youth, boys and girls who are growing up, who are now forming habits and attitudes of citizenship. Let's see that youngsters get in on our cooperation. Everybody includes new Americans—people who are citizens not merely as an accident of birth but because they chose to be Americans. A hearty handshake and a word of welcome are nice, but such gestures are not enough. New Americans must be in on our cooperation. Everybody includes minorities, people who live on the wrong side of the tracks, people who say "he don't" and "ain't," people who have as much money as we wish we had, people who have more power than we think they ought to have. All minorities must be in on the planning. Everybody includes people who don't agree with each other. It is an important job for us to see to it that such people, such groups, have an opportunity to meet each other face

to face and talk out their differences. Everybody includes Joe and Helen and Bill and Sue, the timid people who may feel that they have little to contribute, not realizing that we need them; we must have their help if there is to be community action. Everybody includes many people with good sense and good ideas who don't know how to express themselves. It is our job to see to it that the inarticulate are heard. Everybody includes you and me, who may, because we go to meetings such as this and talk a lot about citizenship, believe we are thereby fulfiling our duties. Far from it. Going to meetings like this increases our obligations, as it increases our awareness of the magnitude and importance of the jobs to be done. Yes, cooperation means everybody.

Idea No. 4: We must find the people who can best help us to get where we want to go and do what we want to do. In other words, we must find our leaders; and finding conscientious, competent leaders is one of the major tasks of democratic people, and one of the most difficult jobs.

There are several concepts we talked about yesterday that may help us: (a) The job is not one of finding the leader, but of finding leaders. We need many people to lead in terms of their individual competence and their individual situations. (b) There is, almost without exception, a far greater resource of leaders than we realize. The problem is not so much the lack of leaders as it is lack of skill in locating leaders. (c) Leaders, particularly professional leaders (which includes many of us), tend to cling jealously to their area of leadership, rather than use their influence to develop leadership in others. (d) Leaders, particularly leaders in influential organizations (and that includes many of us), tend to use their leadership to further the particular organization, rather than to lead people in ways that are important to them. (e) Leaders, good leaders, emerge when sound group process is applied to the solution of real problems. Predetermined "fair-haired boys" are seldom good leaders. (f) Many of these ideas about leaders and leadership tend to be irritating to us, the leaders, but we must be big enough to recognize their validity if we are to be true leaders of people.

Idea No. 5: Talk alone may be lots of fun, but it doesn't get the job done. We were discussing yesterday the topic, Citizenship in Action in the Local Community." In all groups, you agree that a major word here is "action": doing something about citizenship. It means that when we leave this meeting today and go to our communities, we are obliged to do, or to help someone else do, a better job. It is harder to get people to work on some types of problems than on others. Examples of some tough ones are housing, segregation, aid to education, and wage negotiation. But some of the toughest problems are among the most important. It won't be easy,

but let's see if we can't get together even in matters such as these. Words without deeds are pretty hollow affairs.

Idea No. 6: We must practice what we preach. No matter how unpleasant it is, look in the mirror. This process of self-examination is no fun and it isn't easy. But we must undertake it if we are to fulfill our citizenship duty.

Idea No. 7: We must know where we have been, and be aware of how we have moved from there to here, if we are to be wise in planning where we are to go next. Communities must learn to assess their programs and their leaders, and the best assessment is achieved through self-evaluation. Sometimes outside help can be useful in achieving a view of ourselves as others see us, but the value of the assessment lies in our willingness and ability to make use of objective evaluations, even though they are uncomfortable, and they often are.

As we view ourselves, we must learn to see our communities whole, not merely as segmented programs of various organizations. The degree of effective orchestration of agencies in a community is an important measure of the merit of each agency, as well as the community program as a whole.

Well, the seven ideas we discussed then are these:

Let's be sure we know where we are.
Let's be sure we know where we are going.
Cooperation means everybody.
Let's find the people who can help us go where we want to go—that is, the leaders.
Talk alone doesn't get the job done.
We must practice what we preach.
We must know where we have been and be aware of how we have moved from there to here, if we are to be wise in planning where we are to go next.

This is a P.S. from the groups: We have enjoyed ourselves at this conference, but we have some suggestions to make for the future.

a. We like having young people at this conference, high school boys and girls. We have enjoyed them so much, we think it is so important that they be here, we have learned so much from them, that we hope there will be more of them at future conferences.
b. We have liked the opportunity for discussion in small groups. We have liked our discussions so much, we believe in this method so strongly, we have learned so much thru discussion, that we recommend more time for such discussions at future conferences.
c. We are so pleased with the thinking we have done, we are so impressed with our achievements, that we recommend that reports of this conference be widely distributed to groups thruout the

country. Such wide distribution of the conference reports would not only help us to share our thinking with others, but further, and perhaps more important, would indicate what can be accomplished in a conference of this nature.

d. We have enjoyed this conference so much, it has been so meaningful to us, that we recommend strongly that it be repeated; that similar conferences be sponsored for regional groups; and that each organization represented here employ similar procedures in national, state, and local divisions of their organizations.

Your chairman has suggested that we might take a few minutes to look back over past discussions. As I review the reports submitted, these things stand out in my mind:

One, a good American citizen today is a world-minded citizen. He is aware of his privileges and responsibilities as a citizen of the world, as well as a citizen of the United States.

Two, one of our greatest hazards today is that we may be blinded by narrow nationalism. It is easy to let the drama of flag waving get in our eyes and blind us to larger issues. The world-minded citizen doesn't dare be blinded by narrow nationalism, even if, or perhaps particularly if, the drama of flag waving is accompanied by martial music.

Three, world-mindedness is a two-way street. We want the world to know more about us, our ideals, our customs, our habitual ways of thinking and acting. We have an obligation to know more about others, studying with an open mind their ideals, their customs, their habitual ways of thinking and acting. And, more important still, they and we must devise ways of determining values jointly and cooperatively. The best means we have today are thru UN and Unesco.

Four, Americans, real Americans, can't be satisfied with a society which provides for first-class citizenship for some and forces a second-class citizenship on others. Democracy, real democracy, means equal rights and privileges for all, for labor, for management, for men, for women, for everyone, regardless of his age, his political views, the money he has in his pocket, his religious faith, or his social prestige. Democracy, to be worthy of the name, is democracy for everyone.

Sometimes, perhaps, there are those who seem to be insensitive to their obligations as citizens. Sometimes, of course, it is true there are those who are insensitive. There are those; but before we condemn them, let's ask ourselves if we expect conformity in obligation regardless of the dignity due an American citizen. For example, can a man act with dignity in the service of his country when there is within the service the indignity of segregation? Real democracy means equal obligations and equal rights for all.

One of our greatest tasks in becoming true American citizens, and citizens of the world, is to rid ourselves of fear: fear that the other fellow may get ahead of us; fear of change, an attitude that leads to undue reverence for the good old days; fear that leads to apathy and a "what's the use" attitude; fear that leads to witch hunts; fear that leads to hate; and fear that leads to war.

True, we have much to fear, but let's save our fear for places where it is needed: fear of people who push other people around, fear of intolerance, fear of injustice. Fears, blind fears, can lead to bondage. Intelligent fears can keep us aware of the threats to democracy: sly thinking, smart guys, prejudice, and want.

Three faiths have we: legislation, education, participation, and the greatest of these is participation. Participation means that all of us—everyone, regardless of faith, race, sex, ethnic background, regardless of nationality—get together. Participation means that the world gets together to solve its problems. This is an ideal to which we hold with strength and tenacity.

I believe that in the things I have been saying I speak for most of you, if one can judge from your group reports. I know, however, that in some things I do not speak for everyone. Even in such basic matters as we have been discussing, we are not all of like mind. A major task for all of us as honest democratic American citizens is to get together to think thru our problems and to approach this cooperative venture in thinking with honesty, humility, and open minds. There is much for each of us to learn. Maybe we can learn, for example, that we may not need to sell liberty for a promise of security, for, thru intelligent cooperative action, we may be able to achieve both: we may be able to achieve democracy. We may learn that we don't yet know the appropriate role of the federal government in regulating our current society and our modern economy. Let's remember that we don't yet know, and let's not be swayed by oratory based on individual whim rather than on considered group judgment.

We may learn that too often we have insufficient evidence to know where to place blame for malpractice, on labor or on management, for example. We must learn not to be unduly influenced by big names with pet hobbies, and to withhold judgment until we have facts and have weighed the evidence in terms of our democratic values.

We must learn that progress involves change, and that change is frequently uncomfortable because it jogs us out of our ruts. Change is not necessarily distortion or "stretching out of shape"; sometimes we call it improvement or progress.

Let's remember, too, that the fellow who disagrees with us may be

termed a "disloyalist" or he may be an honest fellow, with an honest idea of what ought to be. Name calling can easily become a little man's way of dodging big social issues. Moreover, we are far from a solution in this matter of equality, but let's not confuse identity of status with equality of opportunity (I am quoting from one of your reports). We recognize that we have many unsolved problems, including those mentioned by our speaker this morning; change versus maintaining the status quo in our society; the role of the federal government (which, by the way, is we, you and I, multiplied the nation over); the relations of management and labor; providing equality of citizenship.

Our job is to recognize these problems, to face them squarely without personal prejudice, to do some hard, tough, cooperative thinking about them, to avoid being swayed by oratory and pseudo logic about them, to weigh the evidence pro and con in terms of fact and of democratic values—in short, to act as honest, democratic American citizens. Only thus can men and women of America remain faithful to a government under which they can remain free.

May I repeat a former statement: We have taken a tuck in time; we have put a pleat in space; if we are to live comfortably in this tight world, we must let out the old seams of our thinking.

Since this is my final report to you from you, may I take this opportunity to tell you what a privilege it has been to be your voice at this conference. If these thumbnail reports have been of any value, and I hope they have, it is because they represent the fine thinking of the hundreds of people at this conference. I am honored to have been your voice. In the words of a famous comedian: "I'm just so proud to know you."

People — all people, everybody, everywhere — people are important.

Let's recognize . . . that people who practice discrimination are hurt almost as intensely as, if not more than, those against whom they discriminate.

—Second Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

THE WRITTEN REPORTS

Editorial note: From the 27 discussion groups came approximately 75 written reports. To print all of the reports was obviously impossible, if not undesirable. However:

1. We wish it were possible to print at least part of the report of every group.

2. Some groups had such excellent reports we should have liked very much to print them in full.

The following excerpts and those scattered thruout this report are not to be taken as pronouncements of the conference—merely as thinking that emerged from the discussion groups.

Excerpts from the Reports on Topic I

THE WORLD-MINDED AMERICAN CITIZEN

The question of the world-minded citizen is basically a matter of recognizing the dignity and worth in all human beings. An American citizen is one who subscribes to and owes allegiance to the political philosophy of the United States. This American citizen can work into allegiances to a world sovereignty without denying his allegiance to his country.

The group recognizes a range of meaning of the word, world-mindedness, from passive awareness to full and responsible action. Members of the group differed as to the point along this scale to which they were willing to subscribe.

Any transfer of allegiance which might take place from the national to a world sovereignty would be made not alone for altruistic reasons, recognizing the well-being of others, but also for the sake of our own citizenry.

An important contribution to world citizenry can be thru making America strong and therefore enviable, in such matters as economic well-being and full employment, the development of a higher degree of tolerance, and in general the offering of developmental opportunities for individual citizens on an ever fuller scale, always based on the ideal of recognizing the dignity of the individual.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

. . . World mindedness is not confined to the prevention of war. It extends to social and economic factors as well. In terms of the compulsions of the world in which we live, unlimited national sovereignty, defined as the right of a state to control its entire internal and external affairs,

without regard to other governments, is not to be supported. We would support limited national sovereignty when exercised thru a duly constituted international organization able to enforce its provisions.

We reaffirm our belief in the principles of the United Nations and we believe our government should do whatever is necessary to strengthen it.

The group felt that as individuals we should work to promote world-mindedness by: (a) urging a flow of readable information, understandable by the average citizen, in far greater amount; (b) trying to make ourselves and our neighbors more intelligent with respect to world problems; (c) keeping in closer touch with Congressmen, commending as well as recommending action; (d) removing prejudice in our families; (e) supporting education for international understanding in schools; (f) recognizing the need for training in leadership; and (g) expanding opportunities for adult education.

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. . . We should start with home training. Children are born without prejudice and without a sense of world-mindedness. Both are acquired in the process of growing up. There is need for the home to give basic training and prepare children for conditions they must face. Here, there is a generational gap. Young people have been relegated to small jobs and haven't been given a real place in making decisions that are important. Find a means whereby grandfathers, fathers, mothers, and children can all work together on problems of significance to the community. . . . We should have youth and age coordination.

Our concept of world citizenship is subject to change. We accepted the responsibility as world citizens at San Francisco. We were not well aware of all the obligations assumed. We shall be from now on defining and re-defining the responsibilities of world citizenship.

People are not moving fast enough toward world citizenship. . . . We have seen the world dumped into the lap of the common citizen. The average person wants to know what he can do about it. . . .

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. . . The group reviewed the responsibility of teachers in interpreting citizenship and the present burdens of American school teachers. Some means should be found to integrate into the regular school curriculum those facets of world-mindedness philosophy which relate to each subject.

We need to understand also that discussion of a sounder concept of international relations sometimes provokes criticism that such methods connote an attitude of pro-British or pro-something else, rather than that of being pro-American.

The group expressed concern regarding the readiness and the ability of school teachers to project and interpret the philosophy of world-minded citizens. Teachers should have a profound understanding of all cultures before they are prepared to teach this concept. Common factors underlie all humanity. Human wants are the same the world over, but the means of satisfying these wants differ in different parts of the world. . . .

The problem of educating people for world citizenship is part of the larger and general problem of extending adult education in this country. It is the responsibility of all these organizations to carry on a program of adult education within their own groups and in their own communities. . . .

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We discussed:

A. The nature of our goals in terms of world-mindedness; there was a disposition to include:

1. A thoro understanding and appreciation of our own American culture
2. Knowledge and understanding of people of other lands
3. Tolerance of viewpoints of other nationalities and cultures
4. Deep concern for humanity's welfare
5. Continuing interest in world affairs
6. Working to establish a world peace of freedom and justice. . . .

B. How we might reach the people, and the following were proposed:

1. Better reading materials for schools and for adults
2. Exchange of students and teachers with foreign countries
3. Local discussion groups
4. Utilizing such groups as:
   Parent teacher groups, church groups, women's clubs, labor and farm groups, community councils, councils on world affairs.

We emphasized the need to:

1. Get the individual citizen to see how world conditions and the attitudes toward them affect his own vital interests
2. Stimulate the discussion approach to world affairs
3. Discover new leadership among the people
4. Train discussion leaders who are world-minded
5. Develop and elect world-minded political leaders.

Excerpts from the Reports on Topic II

BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND ATTENDANT RESPONSIBILITIES

. . . . The kind of citizenship which will help to insure basic human rights is a quality that can be nurtured and developed by giving ordinary people more responsibility than their previous experience would seem to warrant.

If we are to achieve basic human rights, every citizen must reconstruct his concept of his own importance and creative capacity. An individual who re-thinks his own responsibility and opportunity will in the process overcome the attitude so often prevalent that "it doesn't matter." Furthermore, it is important that the ego of all persons and groups in the community be recognized and nurtured because of the need of every individual to sense the present and potential power of his own life in building a community where the basic human rights are assured to all . . . .

There is need of finding the moral equivalent of the usual precinct leadership so that there will be a higher type of community direction toward the furtherance of the basic human rights of all groups and individuals in the community. This moral equivalent should be instrumental in overcoming diffidence on the part of persons, giving them an opportunity to participate in achievable goals, and thus helping them to grow in citizenship power. We discussed the problem of making all citizens realize that they are important in community problems and that they have personal responsibility for helping to achieve basic human rights first of all in the immediate community in which they live, but beyond this in the area of state, nation, and world.

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Access to facts on which to base sound opinions is of fundamental importance. There are many problems in this field because of the difficulties of communication and the concentrated control of mass media in the fields of press, radio, and motion pictures, although there are also many examples of excellent contributions on the part of these media.

We decided that action is the imperative need for citizens who are desirous of helping to assure basic human rights to their fellow men. Action is life. Good intentions must be consummated in action, not words. The courage to act is the mark of the good citizen. Children and young people at all age levels must be encouraged to explore and assume the responsibilities of citizenship appropriate to their own environments.

We discussed the question of working through the Congress to have

legislation passed which would foster the establishment of the basic human rights. A motion was made and seconded that this group go on record as endorsing the President's "bill of rights" legislation. The motion was passed.

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. . . . The duty of a majority in government is to determine public policy. The right and privilege of the minority is to hold fast to what they believe to be true but to play the game according to the rules.

Accordingly, our own group recommended that the public school system, beginning with the elementary-school level, increase educational facilities for the understanding of basic human rights in America and the responsibilities that go with it.

We decided that national organizations should:

1. Educate the membership on issues
2. Educate the membership to exercise their franchise rights
3. Encourage the membership to make suggestions to be sent thru the proper channels
4. Encourage membership to discuss governmental problems . . . .

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. . . . Various members of the group pointed out that social issues should be given an airing in the school and community, and that the way out is not thru censorship or avoidance of these problems. It was felt that our educational system must be strengthened in order to become an arsenal of American democracy, and that the equalization of educational opportunity thruout the country would necessitate some sort of federal aid to public education. The importance of community understanding and community support of public education was stressed . . . .

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. . . . In the light of a universal citizenship the group went on record as believing that the individual citizen has the right to equality of opportunity regardless of race, creed or national origin, specifically in the fields of education, health, civil and civic rights, equality before the law, housing, job opportunity, etc.

The following programs were reviewed with interest—the Boys' State of the American Legion, the Future Farmers of America, the Governor's Committee on Youth of New Jersey, and the North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Connecticut State Student Assemblies. In the light of the information revealed by several members, the group recommends earnest consideration and further study of this field of possible action by the review committee . . . .

. . . . What are the basic human rights? We agreed that the analysis presented in the report of the President's Commission, *To Secure These Rights*, is an excellent statement. We agreed, however, that further emphasis should be placed upon the following rights, which we herewith add to the President's list:

1. To number III, "The right to freedom of conscience and expression," we added the further right "to listen."
2. To number IV, "The right to equality of opportunity," we added the explanatory words "socially, economically, politically, educationally, and spiritually."
3. As a fifth basic category, we added "The right to belong in the group as a useful and productive member, and to live out one's days free from the fear of want."

Excerpts from the Reports on Topic III

CITIZENSHIP IN ACTION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

. . . . Programs designed to promote citizenship education should involve the cooperation of all citizens and should be developed in the interest of all. To further citizenship education, community organizations should engage in cooperative efforts designed to make the most efficient use of educational institutions, other public buildings and areas, community houses, boys' clubs, etc. These activities should be designed for all levels —elementary, secondary, higher, adult.

In order to further citizenship education, there is need for a clearing house which will make readily accessible to all the best materials and practices in this important field . . . .

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. . . . The following eight statements summarize the principal points in the discussion:

1. We agreed that community cooperation is most effective when neighbors get together to work on some problem recognized as the common concern of all.
2. We agreed that communities should not organize on the basis of deliberate combination of different groups as such, but that they should build organizational structure to focus on common problems.
3. We recognized the importance of widespread individual participation in community projects, pointing out that the achievement of this goal requires curbing excessive activity by some individuals.

4. We discussed the importance of selecting competent leaders for local action programs.
5. We agreed that more individuals are capable of assuming leadership responsibility in community activities than is widely assumed, emphasizing that some individuals are better leaders in some activities than in others.
6. We agreed that there is need for developing more leadership within any community group.
7. We disagreed as to the desirability of continuing community leaders in positions of responsibility for long or short times.
8. We agreed that professional (full-time) community leaders should share a larger measure of their responsibilities with voluntary lay leaders.

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. . . . One of the most difficult problems faced in group action at the community level is to secure situations in which people with widely different points of view can be brought together for discussion purposes. Some progress has been made in such group action, as is illustrated by the frequency with which such groups as labor organizations and manufacturing groups have come together around the conference table with very different points of view on important issues.

It is the feeling of this group that the approach to securing such discussion can best be made thru establishing some point on which even the most widely divergent groups can agree in some measure; for example, capital and labor, while disagreeing in many respects, do agree on the need for production and the responsibilities of both groups to society . . . .

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The need is to bring community organizations together and to bring about effective cooperation among them. This might be done thru a council of social agencies, citizens' committees and thru other assembled organizations in a community. It is wise to bring teen-agers into positions of responsibility, so that we may bring together and plan together ideas and suggestions of the student, teacher, and family.

The value of programs brought to schools by lay organizations is dependent upon how well they are integrated into the school program and upon the participation of the individual student. The student must actually do things in the projects. On this last point we come to the desirability of increasing work experiment programs both from the point of view of the school and the family unit as well . . . .

Two stumbling blocks are (a) lack of time for additional activities

in schools and (b) lack of leadership. The answer is to pool resources with the different organizations. Sometimes we depend upon too few people to do things. Sometimes people are unable to translate their ideas into action because they are so tied up on committees. The principal need is coordination of all these groups, so that not all will try to do the same thing.

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. . . . Both men and women—and the latter element was emphasized—should take a greatly increased interest in the study of political issues of the local, state, and national community; and, even more, men and women should take a greatly increased active participation in the political scene of their local area.

Each individual must feel that he has an important burden and a large share of responsibility which he himself must carry. At the same time, in a complex society such as ours, we must work thru large organizations and associations, especially those with which we are affiliated, for political improvement of our various areas . . . .

There was a unanimous recommendation that the Advisory Committee of the Citizenship Conference explore the advisability and desirability of a continuing committee to stimulate citizenship activity on the grassroots level thru committee councils and other devices.

Other Discussion Groups Add Their Individual Overall Suggestions

ASK FOR CONTINUATION ACTIVITIES AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION

These were actions of discussion groups and were not voted upon by the entire Conference on Citizenship.

Motion: That this conference sponsor a National Citizenship Council as an outgrowth of this conference, which will be supported by the government and by other groups.

Motion seconded.

Amendment offered: That, while the government be invited to put money into it and support it with some leadership from interested agencies, its primary organizational support come from civilian local groups.

Amendment accepted.

Discussion of Motion—Functions of Council:

1. Views as to the functions of the Council: first, to conduct research into better methods for teaching citizenship; second, to coordinate already existing national groups who are working on citizenship; third, to act as a clearing house for information on points of view and technicalities of

carrying forward plans for citizenship. These three are therefore: research, coördination and dissemination.

2. Somebody has to prepare and nobody is yet preparing material for this important work, dissemination. Local special interest groups should be financed to prepare material such as posters and pamphlets to spread information. Another form of dissemination would be to have educational leaders from one part of the country travel to another so that we can get a wide interchange of ideas.

3. Another important function of the Council would be to confront children with representatives of the various minority groups such as Chinese, Indians, and Negroes, to bring about a better mutual understanding.

Motion carried unanimously and so reported.

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. . . . It is the recommendation of the group that the value of these annual gatherings can be made most effective if plans are made by the National Conference on Citizenship for holding similar conferences on citizenship on regional, state, and local levels thruout the country. . . .

We strongly urge the enrolment of the youth of America in every program and in all planning for good citizenship, community service, and civic relations on all national, regional, state and local levels under the direction of the National Conference on Citizenship.

It is suggested that the National Conference on Citizenship create an executive or coordinating committee to function between annual conferences to implement the program for regional, state, and local levels and to serve as a clearing house for the exchange and dissemination of projects of all member national organizations.

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. . . . Small discussion groups are favored in future conferences. All can then participate.

Discussion groups should represent a cross-section of opinion, as at this conference, and not be divided into special interest groups, as in the Boston conference last year.

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From a group of young people participating in the Third National Conference:

. . . . We suggest that:

1. There be even a larger delegate body of young people. We believe that if the conference consisted of 25 to 30 percent youth from 18 to 25 years of age, it would be even more beneficial to each person attending this conference

2. There be a representation of youth on your planning committee and sessions.

3. There be a young person as speaker at the opening meeting and maybe one acting as master of ceremonies at one of the lunches or the banquet.

4. (a) All the speeches be a little shorter; (b) all speeches be more concise and to the point; (c) *each* "send-off" speech to the respective discussion periods be ended with *three or four questions or statements* which will *provoke deep thought* and start the discussions around basic lines of thought. . . .

Cooperation means everybody. We can't name all the "everybodys" but some are so important, or are so frequently overlooked, that we will give them special attention. Everybody includes youth, boys and girls who are growing up, who are now forming habits and attitudes of citizenship. . . . Everybody includes new Americans—people who are citizens not merely as an accident of birth but because they chose to be Americans. . . . Everybody includes minorities, people who live on the wrong side of the tracks, people who say "he don't" and "ain't," people who have as much money as we wish we had, people who have more power than we think they ought to have. . . . Everybody includes people who don't agree with each other. . . . Everybody includes Joe and Helen and Bill and Sue, the timid people who may feel that they have little to contribute, not realizing that we need them. . . . Everybody includes many people with good sense and good ideas who don't know how to express themselves. It is our job to see to it that the inarticulate are heard. Everybody includes you and me, who may, because we go to meetings such as this and talk a lot about citizenship, believe we are thereby fulfilling our duties. Far from it. Going to meetings like this increases our obligations, as it increases our awareness of the magnitude and importance of the jobs to be done. Yes, cooperation means everybody.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

ADDRESSES OF THE CONFERENCE

THE WORLD-MINDED AMERICAN CITIZEN

WILLIAM G. CARR
Associate Secretary, National Education Association, and Secretary, Educational Policies Commission

WE ARE a nation born in revolution and nurtured along a frontier, a people not easily frightened by new ideas. Our greatest strength has been our ability to adapt our institutions to new needs without sacrifice of desirable elements of order and stability.

Among the many qualities which a good citizen of our country will possess today, certainly the ability to deal effectively with our new international responsibilities is of first importance. These new relationships were not sought by us. We hesitated a long while before accepting them. Even today, a minority of us would like to retreat from them. But most of us are now convinced, I think, that good American citizenship today demands a deep concern in world affairs.

Being convinced that new occasions teach new duties, and that the international relations of our country present to us such a new occasion, the National Education Association, immediately after the United States joined the United Nations in 1945, requested its Committee on International Relations to make a thoro study of the program of education that should be set up to prepare young Americans to discharge their duties as loyal citizens of a country that plays a responsible part in the achievement and maintenance of a just peace.

The report of the committee is divided into two main sections: The first part describes the product we wish to achieve thru the processes of education—the knowledge, the attitudes, the principles of behavior which ought to be made a part of the life of the developing citizen. Delegates to this Conference have received a summary of the recommendations in this part of the report. They are stated in the form of ten characteristics or qualities which, in the opinion of our committee, a well-educated, world-minded American citizen will possess. The second part deals with practical suggestions for the organization of teaching to produce the qualities desired.

Our committee does not regard the responsibilities of the American citizen in the international field as opposed to, or in competition with, the other civic duties which we all share. On the contrary, the committee believes that the obligation to be intelligent about the international relations of our country is an essential part of good citizenship. To prepare ourselves and our young people to discharge these duties is an essential part

of education for citizenship. The points of view which characterize the well-educated, world-minded American ought to permeate the total program of citizenship education.

Surely it will hardly be argued today that a true patriot can turn his back upon the international duties and commitments of the people of the United States. We must all realize that the protection of ourselves and of our fellow citizens from the calamities of war is an act of the highest patriotism. We must realize, too, that a good standard of living and a free and satisfying life for ourselves and for our fellow citizens cannot be achieved without due recognition of the fact that America is only one of many nations which comprise the world. The soundest kind of patriotism can see beyond the years and beyond the borders of our own country. We believe that such a patriot is a far better citizen than the man or woman who is ignorant and unconcerned about the relations of our country with the rest of the world.

You may be wondering why you are asked to hear about the plans for the improvement of the work of the schools in the development of world-minded American citizens. Frankly, there are three reasons why I have chosen to present this material to you in this particular way.

In the first place, the schools need your help to encourage the teaching profession itself to examine critically what it is now doing with reference to education in international relations. Teachers, like everyone else, tend to become fixed in certain habits of procedure and thought. It helps us all to receive the generous interest and informal criticisms of the public at large.

There is a second reason why we need your understanding and support. You are leaders of great national civic organizations. We want you to understand that the schools are trying hard to do a good job of educating patriotic American citizens. At times some organizations give the impression that if a school teaches children about any problem outside the borders of our own country, it is not teaching American citizenship. We think this a false and inadequate picture of what the school should be doing. We want your support and understanding for a broader educational program. We want you, as the leaders of civic organizations, to persuade the members of your organizations to support their local public schools in the development of a complete program of civic education, with appropriate emphasis on the international responsibilities of the people of the United States. This is, you see, a call for allies and assistants. I am not talking to you about the hallmarks of the world-minded American with any thought that you are less capable of passing on these points than I. I am asking you to think with me about the matter because we need your help and under-

standing. If our schools should neglect this area of civic education, either because the teachers and school administrators are not sufficiently sensitive to it, or (as is more likely the case) because teachers and school administrators are afraid to move into the area for fear of public criticism, the education of our children will suffer and our country will suffer.

Third, we in education want the help of other citizens because we simply cannot do the job by ourselves. If the principles we teach in school are denied and flouted in the out-of-school life of children, if the words and actions of parents, the press, the radio, and the community in general run counter to the lessons of the school, the contest is uneven. The schools cannot win under such conditions. Children learn all the time. No school is good enough, or can be good enough, to cancel the other educative forces in life. Frustration and cynicism are the inevitable products of two opposing programs of education.

One more point before bringing to an end this already too long introduction. The ideas contained in the ten marks of the well-educated, world-minded American citizen did not spring in full and perfect stature from the minds of the members of the committee or of its staff. They are the result of a very wide search and consultation. We collected the opinions of 200 distinguished Americans. We conducted many conferences with civic leaders. We asked the advice of experts on international relations and of educational leaders. I think few reports of this kind rest upon so wide a process of consultation and deliberation.

The world-minded American citizen realizes the dreadful danger in which civilization would be placed by another world war.

Without subscribing to the push-button theory of warfare, and without surrendering to an unrelieved despair, he still will understand the perils which another war would bring. He knows the general tendency of wars to become increasingly costly and increasingly destructive. Allow me to quote just one figure which is typical of the kind of material that could be brought to the attention of our youth to illustrate just one aspect of the cost of war in one single city. It has been estimated that in the city of Berlin, alone, if a train of fifty cars were to leave each day to carry away the rubble of the Second World War, it would take 1600 *years* to remove the debris left by the fighting in that one city. When we add to the damage done to physical property—some of it is of great historical and artistic value, and all of it precious to someone—the damage done to human beings and the corrosive damage done to standards of ethical and moral behavior, we begin to realize what war does to humanity. Experience forces us to face the

stark possibility that the values which we would try to defend in another war could be lost in the very process of defending them.

The world-minded American citizen has a desire for peace with liberty and justice.

Let no one suppose that the world-minded American citizen will accept peace at any price. There could be a peace of slavery, a peace where human rights are ignored, a peace of death. There could be temporary security in submission to injustice, security in stagnation, the security of a cage. There is a basic morality in the peace and security which the world-minded American aims to promote and to cherish. He has been taught to stand up for freedom both because freedom is a good thing in itself, and because the suppression of freedom is a menace to the peace of the world. Every invasion of freedom of thought and of speech in our country is a threat to the peace. Every extension of tyranny over the mind of man, anywhere in the world, is a danger to peace. Help us to use public education to make our country a living demonstration to all the world that free men, with free minds, are the surest guarantees of peace and justice.

The world-minded American knows that nothing in human nature makes war inevitable.

The dismal chant that "you can't change human nature" has been raised against every hopeful and progressive tendency in history. It was used to defend human slavery, to oppose the inauguration of free schools, to prove with exquisite logic that men never could rule themselves. But slavery is gone, public education is routine, and government by the people has not perished from the earth. The gloomy prophets were wrong before; they are wrong today. Some people say that there must always be wars. But careful students of pyschology tell us that every normal person at birth possesses almost unlimited capacities of variable response. Impulses can be regulated, directed, guided. We see illustrations of that fact at every dining table and traffic light. Dictatorships nearly always teach their people that war is unavoidable. War may, indeed, come again. But, if it does come, it will not stem from some primordial force beyond human power to halt, like the tides of the sea or the swing of the stars in the sky.

To be sure, conflicts of interest are inevitable as long as everyone can not have everything he wants. But most conflicts of interest, even in the imperfect world of today, are resolved without violence. Only an occasional war and a relatively few criminal acts are the exceptions to the general rule. Nearly all possible uses of violence are now subdued and regulated either by agencies of government or by the influence of social custom

and personal habits, by the restraints of law. Mankind has traveled very far indeed along the road from the anarchy of the jungles. To say that the next few remaining steps to complete the journey are impossible is to deny the evidence of both history and pyschology.

The world-minded American believes in, and uses, organized education as one means to peace through understanding.

Until 1945, when provisions for educational cooperation were added to the United Nations Charter and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (Unesco) was established, the traditional tools for building peace were military, political, and economic. Many times in history, skillful administrators with powerful armies at their disposal have built empires which temporarily brought about a kind of peace or equilibrium. More recently agreements among nations, ranging all the way from elaborate structures like the League of Nations and the United Nations to simple treaties, have also been used in an effort to regulate international affairs by peaceful means. These political measures, too, have failed. Without substantial help from many other kinds of activity, the United Nations itself is not likely to be able to keep the peace. Still more recently, efforts have been made to bring about peace by instituting counter measures against the economic causes of war, through international trade, international banking institutions, international agreements concerning currencies, regulation of access to raw materials, and many other economic measures.

The use of force, the use of diplomacy, and the use of wealth to bring about peace are all, on occasion, important and useful aspects of the total task. There is one other available instrument which we have scarcely begun to use. The great force of organized education can add powerfully to the efforts of peace builders. Ignored or wrongly directed that same force can bring their shrewdest plans to ruin. War will not be brought under control merely by providing police, legal codes, and enough to eat. The knowledge and attitudes that make for peace are developed by education. So are the knowledge and attitudes that make for war. Appropriate education can develop an intelligent desire for peace and an understanding of the conditions necessary for maintaining it. The well-educated citizen will not suppose that education *alone* is sufficient to guarantee the peace and security of nations, but he will realize that it is a force which ought to be used skillfully and consistently in the international relations of the future.

The world-minded American sees the common humanity that underlies differences of culture.

One of the greatest tasks of education, both for the achievement of a better United States and for the maintenance of peace is to avoid national and racial prejudice. We are not born with prejudices; they are thrust upon us. We all develop a series of oversimplified pictures of other peoples. We pass on these false ideas to one another in many subtle ways. There is, if we would only stop to think about it, no sound basis for these generalizations. A cross section of any nation will reveal some citizens who are stingy and some who are generous, some with a sense of humor and some without, some who are honest and some who cheat, and so on. That is true of the people of the United States. It is true of the people of every other country. No nation or race has all the good traits or all the bad traits of our universal human nature. Help us to teach our children to appraise each person for what he is as an individual, rather than in terms of his membership in some group.

The world-minded citizen knows that nations must cooperate.

The present system of unlimited national sovereignty is really no system at all. It is anarchy at the international level. The well-educated American, however, knows that although irresponsible nationalism is a threat to the peace, the modern nation represents a massive achievement in the widening area of unity and order.

The well-educated citizen takes an informed interest in the work of the United Nations and of other international agencies. This is not a matter of teaching our children to praise the United Nations. It is not a question of teaching blind faith in the United Nations. It is a question of teaching the important facts about the United Nations—its structure, purpose, membership, failures and successes. If we were out on a stormy sea, in a leaky boat with the motor misfiring occasionally and the salt water coming in at the seams, we would not sink the boat. Bad as the boat might be, we would do our best to stop the leaks and to get the motor running better. It is the same way with the United Nations. It is in a very difficult storm. It may, indeed, prove inadequate, but it is the only boat we have. We had better do our level best to make it run safely and smoothly. We should inform ourselves carefully about proposals for improving the United Nations by a system of world government. Undoubtedly, the long range evolution of human society is in this direction. Anything we can do to help this trend is good.

We can lay the foundation for a stronger United Nations by developing in our own children a sense of world community. The United Nations

ought to be transformed as quickly as possible into a limited system of world law. That can't happen over night. Psychological foundations for it will have to be laid first. Children should be taught, as a matter of fact and without propaganda, about the various proposals that have been made for strengthening the United Nations. I want to be very clear about this point. I am not advocating that the schools become a propaganda forum for somebody's pet plan of how to save the world—thru world government or anything else. But I am suggesting that schools develop attitudes, knowledge, and information which will make world citizenship possible.

Such a program may be opposed by people who sincerely believe that education of that kind is disrespect to our own nation. I do not believe that viewpoint will stand up under searching examination. The security of our nation—our free institutions—our very lives—our economic welfare—are all intimately tied up with the maintenance of peace. That means a world organization that can keep the peace. And that means the development of attitudes which permit such a world organization to emerge. That, I think, is an unassailable chain of logic. Education for world citizenship, beginning with the immediate environment, the adjustment of little children to what they see and hear every day, and broadening out in circles that know no limits smaller than the earth, is the basis for what must come hereafter—and the only basis. So I say, let's lift up the children so that they can see further than we can. Don't fence them in. There need be no conflict between loyal, responsible, vigorous, patriotic support for the government and the people of the United States and an equally vigorous and patriotic support for the United Nations and an evolving system of world law.

The world-minded American realizes how closely economic conditions are connected with good or bad international relations.

Here is an area where domestic and foreign policy overlap. Run your mind over the major economic problems in our country today: labor relations, inflation, tax rates, business prosperity, employment, agricultural production, natural resources, and so on. Do we not find, if we pierce through the thin outer layer of these problems, that they have important international repercussions? We lent money to the British recently. They have to spend most of the money in this country. Does it matter to the British what happens to prices in this country? We may well teach our children and ourselves to approach our economic problems, even those that may seem at first to be of purely local or even personal concern, with due recognition of the effect of our actions in the international sphere.

The world-minded American is a humanitarian.

To care deeply and sincerely about other people is a trait of which we need not be ashamed. However it may be under the ruthless regime of a dictatorship, a callous disregard for the sufferings of others is not a trait that we Americans admire or foster. Few Americans, however, are really aware of the poverty and misery to which most of the people of the world are condemned. Nothing in our experience permits us to understand the real conditions of life for millions of our fellow men. Perhaps the hardest lesson for any of us to learn in this respect is that nations are composed of *people*. The man who groans as he pays his taxes for aid from our government to another government, will pay up with a smile to aid another *person*. Robert Louis Stevenson once said that, if everyone in the world ate at the same table, no one would go hungry for very long. That is why, in teaching humane and kindly attitudes, an outlet for these feelings *in action*, as personal and direct action as possible, should be provided.

The world-minded American applies skill and judgment to the continuing study of international questions.

The best that any school can do for a young person is to give him a good running start. He has to finish the race for himself. Formal education can teach us some things of lasting value, but the most important things we acquire in school are habits and skills with a guaranteed lifetime of usefulness. As far as good citizenship is concerned, these habits and skills are of special importance. One can learn the alphabet and the multiplication table as fixed and final decisions. We are not likely to add any new letters to the 26 we already have; nor shall we discover that two times four is any number except eight. But the shape and substance of contemporary problems will change from year to year, even from day to day. We cannot teach our children international relations once and for all.

Does this mean that the study of current events and problems is futile? Not at all. Such study will add to the historical background needed to make wise decisions in the future. More valuable still are the acquisition of skills and the habit of analyzing international issues. Although the substance changes, the method of analysis remains essentially the same. Although the nature of future international problems cannot be foreseen, we can be certain that habits of critical thinking will always be essential equipment for a good American citizen.

Finally, the world-minded American citizen acts in appropriate ways to bring about a world at peace, in which liberty and justice are assured for all.

Contrary to a popular opinion, the American citizen can, if he will,

influence international affairs in many ways. He may correspond with citizens of other lands or contribute to overseas relief. As producer and consumer, his personal decisions affect economic relations among nations. Most important, he can influence the decisions of international conferences and organizations. The American has a larger opportunity—and a greater responsibility—than the citizens of most other nations. His influence is doubly strengthened—first, by the power of the United States and, second, by the fact that our government is subject to the sovereign will of the people.

Some people say, "Any individual effort is a waste of time. The men in Washington will decide what to do." Yet in the final analysis the citizens do decide on our foreign policy—thru the ballot box, thru influence on elected or executive officials, through the expression of public opinion. But whether thru personal acts or thru government policy, thru the ballot box or expression of opinion, thru political parties or thru pressure groups, the ultimate test of good civic education is action which will move our country and the world nearer to the ideal of peace with liberty and justice for all.

Maybe we can learn that we may not need to sell liberty for a promise of security, for, through intelligent cooperative action, we may be able to achieve both: we may be able to achieve democracy. We may learn that we don't yet know the appropriate role of the federal government in regulating our current society and our modern economy. Let's remember that we don't yet know, and let's not be swayed by oratory, based on individual whim rather than on considered group judgment.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

"NO GREATER JOY, NO GREATER DUTY"

TOM C. CLARK
Attorney General of the United States

IT IS with genuine pleasure that I have the opportunity to participate in the Third National Conference on Citizenship. I shall always cherish the privilege of being present at the birth of this conference in Philadelphia two years ago, and of being invited again one year later to join you in the second anniversary in Boston.

I wish every American could have been here and witnessed the inspiring massing of the colors by these beautiful young women. It brings forcibly home to us the significance of this meeting. As President Truman so aptly said in his greetings to the delegates at the opening session yesterday—This is "a conference so timely and so important." And what could be more important than an assembly of Americans dedicated to the building of a better America and a better world.

The Apostle Paul, on the occasion of his arrest during a riot in Jerusalem, drew the attention of his captors when he proudly exclaimed: "I am a man of Tarsus—a citizen of no mean city and demand to be heard."

Two thousand years later, in this year of 1948, a friend traveling abroad was standing in line for customs inspection. He heard the inspector in clipped tone ask the man ahead, "Subject of what country?"

The man to whom the question was addressed exclaimed, "Subject of no country! I am a citizen of the United States!"

Many of us, however, have been in the habit of taking our citizenship too much for granted, especially in peacetime. We seem to overlook the fact that United States citizenship is the most precious asset in the world. I wish that you could know of the infinite pains that we in the Department of Justice take to protect the rights of the individual. Attorneys spend days sometimes to make certain that individual freedom is preserved. Of course this work does not make the headlines because the person involved is more often little known. But to us there is no common man—Citizenship is the peerage in these United States.

I can conceive no greater joy than being an American citizen, but I can also conceive no greater duty. Especially is the latter brought home to us in these anxious times when an aching world is struggling to find a cure for its baffling ills.

These hundreds of persons from public spirited organizations and governmental agencies, together with scores of other individuals from over

our country who are here, taking part in this inspiring conference, realize that the heritage we enjoy as stockholders of this great Republic is something more than its vast and rich resources. It is more than the majestic mountains, the mighty rivers, the beautiful lakes; it is more than the sprawling acres of timberland, the calm villages and hamlets, the mines, and the throbbing, thriving industrial centers.

Thru the ages, the spirit of man has yearned for individual liberty; but ours was the first nation in the history of mankind to build a way of life on equality, opportunity, justice and freedom of spirit.

Yes, it is immeasurably more. Our heritage includes the things that mankind has longed and searched for since the dawn of time. Here we may travel freely, speak our thoughts, worship in our faiths, select our vocations, start our business, choose our friends, own our homes, and live undisturbed under the law. The employee of today may become the employer of tomorrow. Ours is truly the land of equal justice and opportunity for all, and ours is the responsibility to see that no iron curtain shall shut out justice and opportunity.

It was no easy task to create this nation with its countless opportunities. It was no easy task to build it to this high position of influence for good. And it is no easy task to keep going on the principles and ideals upon which our nation has nourished and grown.

Our democratic form of government is not a mushroom growth—it is the result of centuries and centuries of struggle, suffering and sacrifice.

Because we believe it to be the best method evolved by man for the well-being of the people, we recently staked our entire existence that our nation and its precepts might endure. We cannot forget that we fought two world wars within our generation. The wounds of the first were not healed before we were forced to fight a second war. Our country gave of its youth and its energy. It poured forth billions of its wealth that these rights might be maintained.

And now, once again—thru no fault of our own—the very ideals and principles that made for our progress are being threatened—yes, threatened from within as well as from without.

When VE and VJ came, we as a nation grabbed the carpet slippers and hied to the rocking chair, smug in the thought that victory had brought to us a year-round vacation. We presumed our duty was done—no more conflicts—no more wars—the enemy had been routed for this time and all time. Democracy was anchored in safe harbor, and our responsibility was ended. That is what some Americans so lightly thought.

Now we are again learning the solemn lesson that there is no safe harbor for democracy—that there never can be a safe harbor for democ-

racy—no permanent dry-dock for our Ship of State.

Permanently moored it would rust, rot, and fall apart. It must be always moving forward, and built to stand stormy weather. And all is not smooth sailing today. As always, the world continues to change. America must have the vision and determination to assist in seeing that the world changes for the betterment of mankind—that the cause of human progress is our cause.

Fortunately, we have made a start in that direction. We are no longer a hermit nation—hiding away from the rest of mankind. Yet there are still some in the United States who would emulate the ostrich—unmindful of the fact that ideologies hostile to our very life are stalking our land, as well as the rest of the world, and that science has made greater advance during the past fifty years than in the previous two thousand years. And the discovery of atomic energy is only a beginning.

A grave question now facing the peoples of the world, especially those of the United States, is whether we are prepared, spiritually, intellectually, and morally, to combat the evil forces that have been let loose upon us. We must recognize and obey spiritual law, as well as man-made law, and we must respect the universal brotherhood of mankind, or our civilization may be doomed. We must keep constantly before us the truth taught by the lowly Carpenter over nineteen hundred years ago.

As science conquers the forces of nature, spiritual advancement must keep pace, to the end that newly-discovered powers may be used for the benefit of all humanity—for happiness and life, not for misery and death.

In this the churches, the schools, labor groups, all the reliable avenues of information, civic groups, and organizations such as this conference, must arouse not only our own citizenry, but also peoples everywhere, to the truths of the atomic era and to the vital urgency of building understanding and peace.

This conference alone cannot achieve the goal. But its thousand determined men and women can return to their home communities and enlist the aid of their neighbors in this cause. In the final analysis it is the individuals in the local communities upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of maintaining our form of government and bringing an enduring peace to the world.

As science has made today's world one neighborhood, our liberty is entwined with that of peoples everywhere. Our future is associated with the future of a thousand million people thruout the world who have never had enough to eat! Our health is linked with that of countless other millions, menaced by starvation, who have never known what real health means!

To help keep the peace for which we all pray, we are assisting those

in need—assisting them in a material way.

Our foreign and domestic policies are two sides of the same medallion. We are assisting peoples across the sea with some necessities of life so that they may restore their peace and freedom. Generous as we are in our dealings with those peoples, we must continue to be as just and generous with each other here at home.

We must be on constant guard against these subversive forces in our midst—be they Communists, Fascists, or Nazis—who would destroy our peace, sap our strength and undermine our security, and divide and weaken us so that this nation would be a soft prey for any foe.

Your government is fully aware of the danger, and has taken and continues to take steps to meet it within the framework of the Constitution and as our present laws permit, as I stated at our Boston conference last year.

You will probably recall that at that time I also pledged there would be no witch hunts. And I renew *that* pledge now! The time and the clock will not be turned back!

I wish to emphasize again that the safest and best way to combat sinister "isms" and subversive groups who seek to overthrow our government by force and violence—the best way to defeat a Godless ideology—is to make the ideal of democracy a living fact—to make our way of life such as to enlist and keep the loyalty of our citizens in thought, in feeling and in action.

As the stream seeks the sea, man seeks the fulfilment of his being. We should make it possible for the stream of life to flow unobstructed so that every individual may have the opportunity for a full and abundant life and to become a responsible member of the community.

The obligation is upon us, the citizenry, to provide the facilities whereby the intellectual and physical energies of all our citizens—especially those who may be forgotten and neglected—are cultivated and put to productive use. This is stock-taking time for the Citizenship Conference. What does the inventory show? We admit that it is not a perfect warehouse. But stocking it with wicked ideologies will make not it better stock. Only by stock piling more democracy will we make our country safe.

The ills of democracy can be cured only by more democracy—reducing squalor, disease and distress housing. In the fullness of democracy there should be no underpaid school teachers and no millions of children without adequate health and school facilities. This is important when one realizes that over 42,000,000 of our population are under the age of 18 years. And 5,000,000 of these are not in school.

This is the challenge of the hour and the day. Groups like yours must

see that programs to blot out this stigma on our national life shall not be sabotaged. And I am referring specifically to bills now in Congress that would provide aid to education and housing for millions of our people.

However, let us always remember that while democracy is not perfect, the democratic ideal has sustained our nation since its beginning; that while in our daily practices we have on many occasions fallen short of the ideal, in the long run we have been moving in the direction of our goal.

We must continue to move in that direction!

Our hope in the most promising age of all mankind rests upon the shoulders of American citizens—Unselfish! Enlightened! Unafraid!

With God's help we will go forward, traveling the upper highway, seeking the peak of freedom, security and prosperity for all humanity.

Should we try to solve our problems by legislation or by education? It isn't "either or," it seems, but rather, "both and."

—Second Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

Reading left to right: Willis Smith, past-president, American Bar Association; T. V. Smith, professor of philosophy, University of Chicago; Watson B. Miller, commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, United States Department of Justice; Rhea M. Eckel, executive secretary, New York State Citizens' Council; Carl B. Hyatt, director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program.

CITIZENSHIP IN ACTION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

RHEA M. ECKEL
Executive Secretary
New York State Citizens' Council, Inc.

LISTEN with me to Carl Sandburg:

The people is every man, everybody. Everybody is you and me and all others. What everybody says is what we all say—and what is it we all say?

What is it we all say? Sandburg's title suggests an answer, "The People, Yes". Faith in people—faith in the men and women of America—brought you and me to this Third Annual Conference on Citizenship. Drawn together by this faith, by a conviction that democracy is an earned right we must keep on re-earning, you and I have set ourselves a task. How do we translate the concepts of democracy into living reality in our home towns? How can we rid our communities of the ghost of fear—fear that we are living in a world gone out of control? We can agree with Sandburg, "Everybody is you and me". We can say, "The People, Yes", but that's not enough. For our most compelling assignment is to bring into existence now a way of life that means, "The People, Yes!" But we won't do the job unless we find some specific, effective techniques that are *practical* in our neighborhoods, instead of having merely theoretical appeal for a delightful group of people like ourselves. Today is an apt time to step back from our daily routines to gain a better perspective of our way of life.

I hope that now, and in the discussions to follow, we can take three steps. At a glance they appear simple, but in reality to climb them successfully is to achieve for democracy a position of impregnable strength. Let's first see if we can agree on the emphasis to be given to work at the foundations, at the "grass roots". Let's find out whether we concur that the focal points of constructive work must be the places where we live. Then, let's appraise some of the major challenges to communities today, for I believe we can agree on some basic priorities. Finally, let's look at some successful methods, which taken singly in separate cities, towns, and villages may not seem particularly impressive, but when taken together add up to a democracy on the march.

What about the communities we live in? Are they important? Shall our strategy be concerned directly with them, or with remote problems? I believe that we start where we live. To do otherwise is to engage in an

unrealistic form of social escapism. Hometown USA is the place where gains are made, where state and national progress are recorded. Hometown USA is the laboratory where the voluntary efforts of men and women create the pattern of democratic living. It is the place where democracy can function in a practical way. After all, what is America, or any country, but a collection of large and small communities? In the perspective of a strong, democratic United States, our communities are central. They are the pivotal points—they make up the base on which the structure of our country is built.

Arthur Morgan says, "It is high time the fundamental significance of the community be recognized." He asks us to realize that the preservation and transmission of the fundamentals of civilization depend upon a vigorous, wholesome community life. Unless *many people* live and work with harmony in the intimate relationships of their communities, there never can emerge a truly unified nation, or a peaceful community of mankind.

It is in our communities where problems become real. Bungling in Palestine creates neighborhood divisions. A party line shift in Moscow subjects your next door neighbor to vitriolic attacks. A strike in Detroit throws an assembly plant in my town out of gear. A selfish pricing policy in a nationwide industry shrinks pocket books in every house in my block. A new draft law hits my home with telling impact. An agreement at Lake Success brings new hope to Bill Smith's fireside. Abandonment of fundamental concepts of justice by a Congressional committee carries fear to the heart of that honest liberal trying to do a forthright teaching job in the school on the corner. Conversely, provincial attitudes in our town—toward reciprocal trade treaties, for example—can contribute directly to badly dawn national legislation affecting citizens in this country and abroad.

We must agree with the farsighted man who said, "In the last analysis, it is in the American community that the fight for political freedom will be won or lost."

If communities, then, are central, if they are the places where our strength and resources must be brought to bear, what challenges must communities meet? What areas deserve priority?

I would place high the development of a constantly evolving *community conscience* whereby each person sees himself as a citizen of the national and world community as well as of his immediate home town. The good neighbor, the efficient planner, cleans his own back yard well, but in the process, he has regard for the people who live around him. It is a conscience that refuses to tolerate man's inhumanity to man, whether that inhumanity is expressed in terms of economic greed, racial and religious bigotry, or merely in an unthinking social snobbishness. It is a conscience

that knows with John Donne, "For whom the bell tolls". But it is a community conscience which views askance destructive criticism that has as motivation the creation of confusion and division among population groups.

Intelligent planning and land use must be high on any priority list for citizen action. In many cities our environment for the dead is superior, while millions *live* out of touch with grass, trees and space for play and recreation. We have developed cities without planning. We fail to recognize that *no planning* is the worst kind of planning—not knowing that we must control land use or that megalopolis, to use Mumford's word, will destroy us.

We have widened and improved some streets; we have built some high-speed boulevards; we have erected some monumental buildings. But our highways and boulevards are in many cases viewed more as means of escape from boredom and ugliness than as adjuncts to a well-integrated community home; and our parks and playgrounds are considered islands of refuge from city life. True, we have public and private planning agencies. They are encouraging evidence of a growing awareness by the citizen of his interest and his sense of community housekeeping. But no greater challenge confronts the citizen of today than to help in the replanning and rebuilding of his community so as to provide comfort, convenience and beauty for all.

Foremost among the problems presented by the physical community is that of shelter. We can no longer afford to regard housing as a mere business enterprise, or, in our working-class sections, as mere storage yards for the labor element in the industrial system. It is a matter of the most vital community concern, be its form of undertaking private or public. Great areas of our cities are nothing but festering slums. They are rotten, ripe for demolition and redevelopment, especially since they occupy much of the useful land we have. In every conceivable way they are community liabilities. No one defends them, everyone is ashamed of them; there is disagreement only on the method of replacing them with decent and well-planned neighborhoods.

All too often technically sound plans have gathered dust because we, as citizens, have not participated in planning. We have been *planned at*—planning has lacked the one essential dynamic, the continual involvement of the people who have a stake in the execution of the plan.

No citizen can afford to overlook the challenges presented by an educational system. Equality of opportunity in our land includes equality of opportunity for education. The schools in our communities are among the most powerful influences in molding the quality of American citizen-

ship. There must be no gap between the citizen and the school administrator and teacher.

In this age of social change, in our constantly developing society, the school is a central force in community life. We must not be so concerned with provision of physical facilities for education that we neglect the program that is taught inside the school building.

Do all children have an equal chance to be educated? If the answer is "yes" in your community, is it so in others? It must be. We need to give thought to education in a world which grows closer and closer to us. Our children will work for peace and security with those in other communities, other states, and other lands. As we plan for food and agriculture and commerce in a world sense, so must we plan for education on the international front.

There is no need for me to continue to catalogue major challenges to communities. The list is long. The development of our cities, towns, villages, and rural areas has been ragged. What we have to do is create in our home towns situations in which all major problems are under continuing relentless attack. We must assign priorities, solve existing difficulties, and be continuingly ready to move on to new problems.

The dislocations are present, the tasks are at hand, the need for intelligent solutions is great—How can we do the job?

One method that works is the organization of a citizen community council.

We of the New York State Citizens' Council have aided and observed local councils in successful attacks on community questions. Thru community councils individual citizens and representatives of community service organizations have pooled their resources to overcome mutual community-wide obstacles.

Today progressive communities are taking inventory, many of them thru their councils, and are weighing their resources against their needs. They are discovering what remains to be done to reach maximum enjoyment and satisfaction in community life. Problems about which the individual can do nothing are being solved by people from different interest areas who meet on common ground to discuss, plan, and take action *together* toward the mutual goal of community betterment.

In many cases, the community council is the common ground where the people meet. It is surprising how much can be accomplished when citizens put their heads together at a council gathering. Local citizens councils are bridging gaps in communities and giving direction to varied organizational activity for the good of the whole community. They are lifting community spirit, developing citizen concern with local affairs, furnishing

effective leadership and serving as guide posts in a gigantic program for sound community planning and development.

They are active thruout New York State and elsewhere in the nation. Citizens in these towns are proving that American democracy has no peer in the kind of vitality and cooperative action that gets things done.

What are some of these community councils doing? For example: they are combating juvenile delinquency through organization of effective youth recreation programs; they are whipping citizen lethargy with lively and dramatic adult education classes and public forums on local, national and world-wide issues. Community councils have found housing for veterans; helped bring industrial plants into their town; called attention to poor sanitation procedures; organized musical talent into a community symphony orchestra; sponsored clean-up campaigns to improve the physical appearance of their town; attracted educational institutions to the community—and engaged in many activities which have made all the townspeople proud to declare *this is my town.* All this is on the record.

A community council can turn an empty store into a teen-age club. It can run a nursery for harassed, working mothers. It can streamline an old-fashioned school system and conduct United Nations forums and discussions. It can organize an entire community into a powerful democratic force and wake up every member of the community to a realization that cooperation among nations begins with cooperation among people right in their own home town. Yes, this is all on the record.

Inspiring stories of democratic achievement and citizen harmony are found in New York State. The stories are repeated from coast to coast, but I speak of New York because I am most familiar with that state.

Our staff members recall vividly, and with delight, the achievements of a council in a small residential central New York community. This was a quiet, rather static town, with little "atmosphere" or activity. The wants of residents were secured from neighboring communities or from the metropolitan area several miles away.

About a year ago some 30 young men and women gathered to take stock of their community with critical eyes. They wanted to *do something* to cause all its residents to be proud to live there. A country-wide organization was formed and a program drafted to "promote better social activity, civic improvement, and general philanthropic work along practical and educational lines." They meant these words which were written in their constitution. They are translating them into action—and the community is solidly behind them.

Slowly, but with fixed determination, the council members helped overcome citizen apathy. And today community spirit runs high with such

projects as the town's first public library, a scholarship fund, a recreation program for youth and a vigorous campaign for a fire-fighting force. Each of these projects is a significant step forward in the history of this small rural community, whose people are applying the principle of "cooperative citizen action" and self-help in a lively community-building enterprise.

In another, and larger, community, a 60-member board and five subcommittees, ably representing most groups in the city, are guiding an active citizens' community council.

Each spring, when member organizations select program chairmen for the coming year, the local council conducts a one-day leadership training institute. The leaders-in-the-making discuss issues which should be included in future programs. They learn about the council and its services: the library of up-to-the-minute pamphlets, bulletins, clippings and bibliographies; the special aids for leaders of nationality groups; the active lecture bureau. And they learn more details about how the council utilizes every communication medium in the area for its broad educational program on current affairs.

But a council is no panacea. Unless it works with existing groups—service clubs, voters leagues, veterans organizations, and so on—it will fail. And gains can be made wherever and whenever members of *any* organization, *any* educational institution, or *any* governmental agency, view communities in broad perspective.

Perhaps the key to the whole subject is leadership. The war years drove home the blunt fact that each of us has a distinct and important place to fill in the national and world picture. We played our individual parts well to win the war. We must continue to do so to win the peace. The role of the United States in the community of nations demands, to repeat, the best of each of us—the best leadership, the best service, the best contribution of our talents—because these are perhaps the most challenging times in American history.

America could never have been built, our democracy could never have been successful without the leadership and services of millions of citizen volunteers. People who saw what needed to be done and did it made the United States a great nation. And today, volunteers, in teamwork with professionals in all fields, can and will provide the power to maintain our greatness.

We know that communities have leadership resources which have not been tapped. We know leaders can be trained, for the New York State Citizens' Council and other groups have trained them successfully.

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This afternoon, then, we have said:

First—our home towns are central—they are the key to an intelligent social strategy.

Second—the challenges to communities are great—they lie, for example, in planning and land use, in recreation, in education, health and welfare; they are found wherever the people are.

Third—there are effective methods for attacking problems—the organization of local citizens councils, the utilization and expansion of resources of groups like the New York State Citizens' Council, the drawing together in communities of resources of research, education, and administration, the development of intelligent leadership; in short, the broadening of citizen participation in public affairs.

I like Eduard Lindeman's statement: "The central functional concept of democracy is participation; when a citizen withdraws, refrains from his policy-making responsibilities, then democracy falters and fails."

May I make one proposal before I conclude? I would like to suggest the establishment of a National Community Foundation financed by government, private foundations, corporate and individual gifts—its basic purpose to give aid to communities, usually thru independent statewide citizens councils and similar groups. Our tasks are clear enough, we have begun to develop the methods, we do need resources adequate for the task at hand. A National Community Foundation could be the catalytic for bringing about cooperative community development and action thruout the country.

David Burnham said: "Make no little plans—they have no magic to stir men's blood—and probably themselves will never be realized. Make big plans—aim high in hope and work—remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die: but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty."

As we work thru this conference—when we go back to our home towns, we can get *citizenship in action* in our local communities. I am confident we can provide the essential specifics, and that *then* we can say with Carl Sandburg, "The People, Yes".

The best way to know each other is to work together. Goodness knows, there is enough work to do in our nation. Let's get together, regardless of race, religion, skin color, and money in our pockets, and do the job.

—Second Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

CARL B. HYATT
Director, The Attorney General's Citizenship Program

Two years ago, the first National Conference on Citizenship was held in Philadelphia.

Those responsible for the conference felt that our country needed an enlightened and progressive citizenry, sensible of its great heritage, vigilant in its defense, and alert to the fulfillment of its obligations, in peace as in war.

The Philadelphia conference was a milestone in democratic relations. People from diverse groups sat down together, to counsel with each other on how best to translate the heritage of American citizenship into dynamic reality.

The delegates urged national solidarity to meet the challenge of the future. While they recognized that differences among individuals are a part of democracy, they stressed again and again the necessity for resolving these differences when they become disruptive to the unity of the whole.

On this high plane, the gathering in Philadelphia set a pattern for the Second National Conference, which was held a year later in Boston.

In both the First and the Second Conferences, the National Education Association had the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice. In this Third National Conference, the Department of Justice is co-sponsor with the Association.

The structure and objectives of the Boston and Philadelphia meetings were similar. Attendance was limited, for the conferences were in a formative stage. To a certain extent, they were experimental, designed to find out how well representatives of different groups could work together, how analytically and objectively they could reexamine the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and how readily they could subordinate individual and special interests for the common good. It was hoped, also, that these conferences would lay the groundwork for larger and more representative ones in the future.

Standing before this inspiring assembly of men and women—leaders among those having at heart the future of our country and of the world, I know I speak for all of us who took part in the earlier planning, when I say, we are now convinced that a national conference on citizenship is more than a noble idea; it is a reality.

And so we meet for the Third National Conference. We meet at a crucial time in national and world history. A spirit of uneasiness, appre-

hension, even of fear is abroad in our land and every land. Evidences of disunity are seen on every hand.

We have to choose a philosophy to live by—a philosophy of hope, or a philosophy of fear.

If we choose the philosophy of fear and failure, we shall destroy ourselves physically and spirtually.

If we choose the philosophy of hope and courage, we shall find a good life for ourselves and all humanity.

It is fitting, indeed, that the Conference should be held in the Nation's Capital.

Here, we meet in the midst of shrines that symbolize the soul of our country, that record America's history and foretell her destiny.

A few yards away, pointing to the stars, rises the Washington Monument. Erected by a grateful people in loving tribute to the Father of our Country, it memorializes his unselfish devotion to the cause of freedom. In our early troubled days, the steadfast and selfless character of George Washington held the Thirteen Colonies together, as they strove to achieve independence. After victory, it helped to fuse quarreling states into a strong and enduring nation.

Across the tidal basin stands the Jefferson Memorial, embodying the spirit of the man who expressed the basic principles of our national life. Thomas Jefferson placed his faith in the "experiment of self-government and the inherent goodness of human nature." He gave to this nation its democratic mission. A Virginian, an American, a citizen of the world, he enunciated the principle that the rights of man are universal.

Nearby is the Lincoln Memorial, dedicated to the memory of a man whose great heart held love for all humanity. Carved on its walls, as well as stamped upon the minds and hearts of the people of America, are the never-to-be-forgotten words of the Gettysburg Address. Lincoln saw what the world must come to see—that liberty in indivisible.

Across the Potomac in Arlington Cemetery is the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, reminding us that America reverently remembers its unknown and unsung heroes, who sacrificed for the rights and privileges that we all enjoy. From behind the plow, beside the machines of industry, the crossroads of business and the highways and bypaths of our great nation have come countless thousands of the great plain people who have helped to shape our national destiny and to bring the American dream nearer to living truth.

On a hill, not far away, rises the Washington Cathedral. Within it is the last resting place of Woodrow Wilson, who envisioned a world safe for democracy and a day when wars would be no more. Woodrow Wilson

realized that we are a part of the world, that humanity is indivisible, that America touches elbows and hearts with all the nations of mankind. He realized that the future of our nation is bound up with the future of the human race.

Slightly to the east of us stands the stately White House, the home of our presidents from the days of John Adams to the present time. This dignified dwelling place is, indeed, a "shrine of on-going democracy, within which lives a president whose greatness is measured by the extent to which he is the servant of all the people."

Facing the Capitol is the majestic structure that houses the Supreme Court. Within this temple of justice, one feels a spirit of reverence, coupled with a sense of pride, at being in the presence of the tribunal that protects and defends our Constitution with its Bill of Rights—our priceless charter of liberty.

Overlooking the city, its cornerstone laid by George Washington, is our national Capitol. Silhouetted against an everchanging sky, its silvery dome signifies to the world the right of free people to govern themselves. In its historic chambers, democracy speaks thru representatives chosen by the voice of the people.

Truly these shrines give vivid expression to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship—the theme of this conference. And so I repeat, it is fitting that we meet in the nation's capital. Here we feel the pulsations of our country's heart and vibrations from happenings the world over.

Long and careful thought went into the theme of the conference. The decision was made by neither the Department of Justice nor the National Education Association.

First, the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship, composed of distinguished citizens representing varied groups, discussed at length subjects that might be considered. Next, the Conference Advisory Committee on Citizenship of the National Education Association, likewise composed of outstanding citizens from different callings, weighed carefully several suggestions. Finally, the two committees, in joint session, agreed upon the theme submitted for your deliberations.

Today, Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities extend from the familiar places of our home towns to the far-flung corners of the earth.

Distance has been dwarfed, and time telescoped. It's a far cry from that era when it took General Washington seven days to travel from Mount Vernon to New York for his inauguration as our first President, and when another presidential party, on its way to the national capital, got lost in the forest between Baltimore and Washington.

We no longer travel to New York in a buggy, traverse the continent in a prairie schooner, or cross the ocean in a sailing vessel. Science has shrunk oceans and continents, destroying geographical isolation, and drawing all peoples nearer to one another.

Plunged into the Atomic Age, in possession of a power that we do not fully understand and have not yet mastered, we are faced with momentous decisions, impelling in their urgency.

We are forced to think, not merely in community, or state, or even national terms, but in world terms. For like the pebble, tossed into a body of water, which starts circles that widen and widen until they reach the farthest shore, what happens in our hamlets and villages ultimately is felt in the capitals of the nations.

What we do in world affairs depends upon what we are and do as a nation, which in turn depends upon what we are and do in our states and communities.

And in the final analysis, it is what we are and do as individuals.

The strength of our nation comes from the combined strength of the men and women who make it up, and the strength of each of these comes from within, not from without.

From world affairs to local affairs threads the principle that rights and responsibilities are inseparable. They follow one upon another as do the ebb and flow of the tide in the seas that both separate and unite the lands of the globe.

A noble group, including Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt have carried to all ages the message that happiness, and friendship, and peace belong to all humanity.

Stars of David, and crosses row on row, in cemeteries under wide and starry skies everywhere spell out that liberty is universal—that this God-given right planted in the hearts of all should be denied to none.

Man cannot speak truly of freedom and mean freedom only for himself.

He must mean more—a willingness to defend the liberty of others. Freedom is not for Americans to enjoy in isolation. A gift of the Divine, if we are selfish with it, we may lose it.

When we speak of liberty we should mean not only the benefits it brings, but the lofty ideas it represents and the duties and obligations that it imposes. We must think not of what we want, but of what others should have. Acting upon this moral and spiritual plane, our own lives will become richer. As the advance of science brings peoples face to face, they must of necessity find the way to live together in amity.

International good will and understanding are attainable goals.

Altho the world may seem to falter in its onward march, we should not despair. In 1787 fifty-five determined men—most of them wise, all of them sincere—met in Independence Hall to lay the foundation for the greatest nation on earth.

The hour was dark, but they did not waver!

Instead they brought order out of chaos, and wrought unity out of division.

Today we must continue to give our support to the United Nations, the most ambitious attempt yet made toward lasting peace.

The well-being of Americans is bound up with the well-being of all mankind. Our lives are entwined with the lives of peoples everywhere; anything that affects their welfare ultimately affects ours. We cannot isolate ourselves.

As we play our destined role in helping to rebuild humanity, in helping to restore to stricken peoples faith in themselves and hope for the future—faith in the dignity and destiny of man—we must draw heavily upon our American heritage. And our heritage comes from all the world and our people from all mankind.

Out of the eternal longing and quest for freedom, millions from far away lands crossed strange oceans and came here to realize their dreams of liberty. Some brought little except courage and hope. Others brought something more, precious skills and talents. All made their contribution, building, renewing, and enriching this great nation, and making it the inspiration of liberty loving and oppressed peoples everywhere.

People of every race, creed, and culture, brought their gifts and laid them at the altar of America. America now has the opportunity to repay its debt to mankind. It is most appropriate, therefore, that this conference consider the subject of the "World-Minded American Citizen."

As we seek to light the way, and to guide humanity to freedom and happiness in lands across the seas, we must likewise attempt to build for people within our own borders a way of life that is filled with liberty and justice for all.

With all of our glorious history, our country is not perfect. There are moments when the flag droops in shame at the selfishness and greed of those who betray the American heritage, and attempt to divert its march toward the fullness of democracy.

A good America can become a better America. Sovereign citizens—genuine and faithful in purpose, ever mindful of their trust—can hand on to the next generation a better and nobler America than they themselves found.

And that is why we are also discussing, at this conference, "Citizenship in Action in the Local Community."

As we face the future, let us place the ideal as high as possible—even beyond our reach. The ideal that shapes our life should perhaps be as far above us as the stars that guide the navigator, charting the course of his ship at sea.

Our precious American heritage which we seek to translate on local, national and international levels is not something material. We cannot see it, or touch it. It is not the Liberty Bell, Lexington, or Valley Forge. Rather, it is what the Liberty Bell rang out to proclaim, what the patriots defended at Lexington, and what Washington fought and prayed for at Valley Forge.

I know of no better way to express the point I am endeavoring to make than to read a message to this conference from a member of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship. He wanted to be with us today, but his health would not permit.

His message reads:

"I came to America many years ago. I came from a little village across the sea. I can still see it, the hills, the brook, the mill, the monastery. I remember the steamer and the ocean, water, wind, waves for days and days and the new, strange, far away country that was to be my home.

"I remember finding my way to school, an American school. That was where my life in the new country began. I sat and listened and tried to learn. My teachers said I should. I heard the teachers talk of America, of the Declaration of Independence, of Patrick Henry, of Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Lincoln.

"I thought of Washington, not as he was at Mount Vernon, but, as he was at Valley Forge, in his hut with the ragged soldiers of the war.

"I thought of Lincoln as a boy in his log cabin, studying by the light of the fire.

" 'These are truly Americans,' I said to myself, and I felt that all Americans were like them, and I made up my mind to hurry and be a man. I too wanted to belong. I too wanted to feel the strength and the great love of the children of Washington and Lincoln.

"And it happened to me, as it did to thousands of foreign born, that after many years I was graduated from an American school and then from an American college. I became a teacher, an American teacher, in an American public school. I belonged. I felt the strength of children about me, and I was proud to be among them. In time I became a principal of an American public school. To it came, by and by, visitors from far and wide, from Asia,

Africa, Australia, Europe, Canada, Mexico, South America. They came searching the spirit that had made America great. Each time they came they smiled as they said, 'There is something here in the life of your children that makes one think of Washington and Lincoln,' and my heart would throb—'My Country 'Tis of Thee I sing.'

"My proudest boast is that I am a citizen of the United States of America, that I, like all of you, belong. Sincerely yours, (Signed) Angelo Patri."

Job No. 1, it seems, is ridding ourselves of fear—fear of change, fear that the other fellow will get ahead of us, fear that leads to witch hunting, fear that leads to narrow nationalism, fear that leads to hate, fear that leads to war. And no less important, perhaps, we must rid ourselves of fear that leads to apathy, to an idea that nothing matters. We must rid ourselves of the fear that leads to an attitude that it isn't worth the struggle. Fear, by whatever name, is, in our modern world, death in disguise.

True, we have much to fear, but let's save our fear for places where it is needed: fear of people who push other people around, fear of intolerance, fear of injustice. Fears, blind fears, can lead to bondage. Intelligent fears can keep us aware of the threats to democracy—sly thinking, smart guys, prejudice, and want.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

SOME RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP

WATSON B. MILLER
Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization

REPRESENTING one of the sponsoring agencies of the Third National Conference on Citizenship, I bid you hearty welcome on this, its second day.

The general subject of this evening's consideration—"Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities"—is not merely a technical topic to be analyzed or dissected. For it goes to the very foundation of society and is the *raison d'etre* itself. This conference, stimulated by the Department of Justice and the National Education Association, was called in an effort to determine more clearly the nature of such rights and their corollary obligations. While two preceding discussions of the same nature were held at Philadelphia in 1946, and at Boston in 1947, the field of interest is so vital that continuing emphasis was felt to be desirable.

Citizenship of the United States is a highly prized possession. Realization of its worth causes the heart to glow. If that warmth is missing, there is something wrong with the conception of the individual. Citizenship, in the larger sense, has been termed a subject "as broad as culture, society, or civilization," embracing "the whole scheme of social living."

Man in democracy has refused to be fettered by human imposed limitations except those which he has placed upon himself. He recognizes that some restraint is necessary if there is to be order and system in life. This curb we call "government," and our Constitution and laws are its evidence. Yet, unless we consider government as a means by which individuals may live fuller and better lives and render willing and helpful service to the other members of the society of which we form a part, the true values of government will be lacking. St. Paul in his letter to the Corinthians, expressed the idea exactly: "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

Coming to our juristic system, some of us are accustomed to think of the Constitution of the United States in terms of the description attributed to William Ewart Gladstone: "As the British constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." This was said in 1878—a little more than half way down our history under the Constitution, an early recognition by a great and experienced English statesman. It reminds us that we have

been told that the British recognized the purity and import of the Lincoln Gettysburg address even before the elements of that sublime human creed had become generally fixed in American consciousness. But we know that our fundamental law was long in its development and that there were expressions of democratic rights earlier even than the demands of the barons upon King John at Runnymede in 1215 as set forth in that milestone of human progress—Magna Carta.

The impelling desire of the individual for the liberty of action and expression that differentiates the freeman from the slave was evidenced in King Henry's Charter of Liberties of 1100, in the Roman republic during the 500 years before Christ, in the beginning of the democratic Golden Age of Greece in 510 B. C., and in the mass migration out of bondage of more than a million slaves under the inspired leadership of Moses, thirteen centuries before Christ. A modern manifestation of the same spirit appeared at a comparatively late date in The Mayflower Pact of those brave and simple folk who landed at Cape Cod in 1620.

The influence of the late Ambassador Bryce, in his analysis of the governmental scheme of this country, will last long. He eulogized our Constitution in a single striking sentence in *The American Commonwealth:* "It ranks above every other written constitution for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity, and precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details."

The oath of allegiance which each naturalization applicant in the United States must take requires an obligation to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to bear true faith to this country. This is the same sort of oath required of the President of the United States, the judges of the courts, and the other officers both of the United States and the states. I assume that our basic law contemplates that the subscriber to such an oath has a fair understanding of the nature of the Constitution to which he is pledging his fealty.

I like to remember what Woodrow Wilson said to five thousand newly naturalized citizens one time in Philadelphia—"You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race." How profoundly we must feel the truisms expressed in words uttered even before the first World War.

Our population is predominantly native-born. Yet, during the history

of this country many natives of other lands have braved hardship and danger to enter its portals and participate in its progressive life. When a noncitizen becomes legally naturalized in the United States he is placed in all respects, except his ineligibility to the Presidency, on a legal and political equality with the native born. Likewise, he is obligated to assume the same responsibilities as those of a native citizen.

These things do relate to the work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of which I am the administrator. One of my immediate official responsibilities, as set forth by statute, is "to promote instruction and training in citizenship responsibilities of applicants for naturalization." This is done through the medium of the public schools. There is authority of law for the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to prescribe the scope and nature of the examination of petitioners for naturalization as to their admissibility to citizenship. Among the subjects included is the applicant's understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The Congress has thus recognized that the valuable privileges of citizenship must be balanced by the obligations which accompany that legal status.

I have derived much personal as well as official satisfaction from the reports of this work of citizenship education in cooperation with the public schools. The Service is not an "educational organization" itself. Education is a function of the states and local communities. But the Service is the agency most closely associated officially with the newcomers from foreign lands. It must make recommendations to the courts as to their qualifications for naturalization. Therefore, it is in a particularly favorable position to interest the aspirant for citizenship in taking advantage of the opportunities offered by public school classes in English and in government.

In a recent instruction to the members of our Field Service who recommended naturalization applicants to the courts, the Attorney General and I emphasized the great importance of an informed citizenry as an essential pillar of our democratic way of life. There is general agreement that measures which foster increased and intelligent participation in government merit strong support. High standards of citizenship are the goal in the naturalization process.

During the fiscal year ended June 30 last, 125,000 names of newly arrived noncitizens were sent to the public schools that the interest of the immigrants might be aroused in taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered by local communities. The 37,771 declarants for naturalization, and the 77,442 petitioners for that status—a total of 115,213 candidates—were supplied with 190,354 copies of the various parts of the Federal Textbook on Citizenship. This publication, prepared by specialists in adult education, contains clear and simply stated descriptions of the nature and purpose of our governmental system—national and local.

The educational facilities of over forty of our state universities and colleges have been offered to candidates in rural areas who, by reason of inaccessibility or physical handicap, have been unable to attend regular public-school classes. There was an increase last year from approximately 4,000 to 10,000 such home study applicants. As a result of this means, new citizens even in isolated areas are enabled to give good account of themselves by active participation in civic life.

One of the by-products of the naturalization process—and not the least important—is the opportunity presented to our growing youth to see and participate in the judicial granting of citizenship. The Attorney General and I have furthered arrangements by which our field officers, with the cooperation of the judges of the naturalization courts, invite teachers and students of elementary and high schools to be present at naturalization hearings. There the students observe the manner in which applicants for citizenship and their witnesses are examined. Finally, the spectators join in the thrill which accompanies the investiture of the candidates with their new citizenship.

On occasion the new citizens are not only received graciously by the court but patriotic and civic organizations, such as the American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, and parent-teacher associations join in a welcome to these newest of citizens. Such proceedings have been approved and stimulated because they are calculated to react favorably upon naturalized and native citizens as well. Recent examples were those in the courts of Federal Judges Phillip Forman, United States District Court, sitting in Trenton, New Jersey; Albert A. Ridge, at Kansas City, Missouri; Charles J. Vogel, at Fargo, North Dakota; and Federal Judge Louis E. Goldman, at San Francisco. I can think of no finer thing, as we refresh our blood with other strains, than thus to set up stimulating and directional guide posts for the wonderful oncoming generations who grow up to our shoulders with speed which sometimes astonishes us.

Will you not be good enough to visit the citizenship education exhibit of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Space Number 4 in the Great Hall of the Department of Justice? It will enable you to get a better view of our work, to which you all have given such hearty support of local and state educational authorities. Mr. Clark and I would welcome your views as to the nature and scope of the examination of applicants for naturalization which you believe would disclose an adequate understanding of our Constitution and government to enable them to assume intelligently the duties and obligations of citizenship in our America and in its galaxy of sovereign states.

A FREE AND FAITHFUL CITIZEN

DONALD R. RICHBERG
Author and Attorney

THE men and women of tomorrow will be forced to choose. They will become the free and faithful citizens of a government which they control, or the fear-ridden subjects of a government which controls them.

These alternatives are not yet clearly seen by masses of bewildered and worried people. But they are being made more visible day by day as the self-proclaimed "liberators" of mankind proceed by force and treachery to free millions of men and women from the pains and problems of self-government and give them the security and humiliation of an accepted slavery.

We are told, however, that some irresistible "wave of the future" is sweeping humanity into a new way of life that is inevitable. But, in truth, this latest drive of would-be-master-men to rule the world is only a wave of the past. The old wave of tyranny is rolling again with renewed violence against the mental barriers that great apostles of freedom have raised and maintained throughout recorded history to preserve individual liberty and the dignity of the human soul.

Men and women will resist; their broken, bleeding bodies will make impassable barricades, so long as their minds are clear and their spirits are resolute. But, the enslavers of today have learned much from the defeated enslavers of yesterday. They delay the launching of force and treachery against the flesh of freemen until they have confused their minds and softened their spirits.

That is why it is more important today to reinvigorate the faith of the American people in self-government than it is to draft them into armies. Of course we must be ready and willing to fight and to die for our freedom, or we are not worthy of it. But, unless we know the profound value of our liberties, unless we really understand that self-control and self-discipline in the exercise of our liberties are essential to preserve them, we will make poor soldiers in the battle for freedom.

It is a time when we may well refrain from boasting, and candidly consider our weaknesses as citizens. We have a great common heritage; but if we are too selfish, too shortsighted and too self-indulgent to defend it by common sacrifice and equal devotion to a common cause, we will lose that great common heritage.

We will not long remain free citizens if we are not faithful citizens.

We need not scold one another, with a million pots calling a million kettles black. We can begin by confessing that most of us frequently lose sight of the simplest, most fundamental principles of good citizenship, in the confusion and uncertainties of our complex modern life. Of course there are a few exalted souls who, according to their own conceit, never go astray and are always right. They need no advice. But the rest of us may gain strength by an honest confession of frequent error.

What are some of the principles of good citizenship which we often fail to follow?

One is the principle of obedience to law.

Another is the principle that a free society must be a self-disciplined society.

Another is the principle that a free government can be sustained only by a free economy.

Probably these three are enough big principles to squeeze into one little talk.

Why is it that we, American citizens, fail so frequently to obey the laws that we enact?

Primarily this is because our inbred love of individual liberty permits us to make a virtue of a disobedience that we should regard as a sin.

We know that traffic laws are written to make highway travel safe. But we foolishly enjoy substituting individual judgment for a rule of law, if there is no policeman watching us.

This brings us to a second cause of national lawlessness. In order to maintain the democratic quality of local self-government and to preserve individual liberty, we have devised a complicated system of local, state and national laws, all under the dominion of constitutional laws that limit majority powers and establish minority rights. As a result, law-making in the United States is a tremendous business. The volume of city ordinances, state laws, federal laws and judge-made laws is so enormous that no one engaged in any large business can function without the constant, and often unreliable, advice of a lawyer.

The effect of frequent conflict and uncertainty in the laws is to encourage the disregard or evasion of any legal rule that might hamper a citizen in doing what he wishes to do. And, as a final justification for deliberate lawlessness, the free citizen can always assert that an offensive law is actually not a law, because it violates some constitutional restriction upon the power of our lawmakers to make laws.

Thus we come to a third cause of national lawlessness: and that is a deep difference of opinion among Americans as to the extent to which our government should regulate the daily life and work of our citizens.

There are millions of men and women in the United States today who earnestly believe that a modern government should accept a large measure of a social responsibility for the welfare of all citizens. They believe that the government should insure the development and control of enterprises that will provide employment for all able and willing workers, that the government should insure everyone an education to the extent of his capacity, and then insure a good living out of satisfactory employment, or at least a tolerable living for those who are, for any reason, incapable of self-support.

The great majority of our citizens who have this idealistic concept of what a government can and should do are still desirous of preserving individual liberty, which can only exist where individual rights of property and individual liberties of contract are preserved. Accordingly these citizens believe that by a combination of government enterprises and government regulation of private enterprises, the government can lead us into the promised land of state socialism, without exercising the tyrannical authority of a communist dictatorship. Nothing is more alluring than the prospect of having one's cake after eating it. How satisfactory it would be to have a benevolent despotism insure every man a good living and at the same time his individual liberty in the making and spending of his income! This is the childhood concept of a perfect parent. It is a childish concept of a perfect government.

It is not necessary for me to reveal all the prejudices of an old-fashioned liberal (now called a "reactionary") in order to question whether our form of government can accept and fulfil such a social responsibility. It has been made quite evident by experiments at home and abroad that only one central government, exercising a national police power, can even attempt such a task.

Thus it is only necessary for an old-fashioned liberal to point out: First, the national and state governments of these United States, whose powers are carefully limited by constitutional restrictions, were not created or intended as fit instruments for the establishment and control of a socialized economy.

Second, it would be necessary to enlarge the powers of the national government and to make all state and local governments completely subordinate to a practically unlimited national authority, in order to establish and maintain a socialized economy.

Third, when such a national government is established the American people will no longer be free citizens enjoying self-government. They will become the subjects of a totalitarian government. This means that in reality they will become the subjects of an all-powerful ruling class

operating a lawfully established police state, with a dictatorship which will be irresistible by any means short of civil war.

This is why the men and women of America must choose today whether they wish to remain free citizens, faithful to the government established by the Constitution of the United States, or whether they really believe that that form of government has outlived its usefulness and that an utterly different form of government should be established in its place.

Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that we are deeply concerned with the difference between the actual communist program to overthrow our government by force and the ostensible program to accomplish the triumph of national socialism by peaceful means.

Let us acknowledge the right of free citizens to seek to change our form of government by peaceful means. But let us be resolute and uncompromising in our opposition to reactionary reform that calls itself liberalism. Let us have strength in our conviction that when men lose faith in the only form of government in which individual liberty is preserved, they lose faith in themselves. Then they are no longer free men and women. They are willing to sell liberty for a promise of security. They are willing to become serfs in a modern feudalism, which will be more tyrannical than the feudalism that our ancestors destroyed centuries ago.

Those of us who are resolved to remain the free and faithful citizens of our republic must understand, not only that the laws of the land should be obeyed, but also that a free society must be a self-disciplined society.

If only the presence of a policeman prevented murder or robbery or mob rule, our lives and property would not be safe and our freedom would be always shadowed by fear. It is not fear of punishment, but respect for law, that controls the conduct of a large majority in a free society. Individuals or minorities who only yield obedience to a policeman's club are not faithful citizens. They are not worthy of the freedom which they abuse.

If a majority were as lawless as a minority of our citizens are from time to time, we would face a choice between anarchy, which could not be endured, and the iron rule of a militarized government, which would preserve order by severe restraints on individual freedom.

Without naming persons, let us call the roll to identify a few outstanding types of unfaithful citizens.

To begin with those for whom there is the least excuse, let us place the business monopolist at the head of our list. The simple fact that a free government can be sustained only by a free economy is often forgotten, but never successfully ignored. It is the inevitable tendency of human beings who enjoy the possession of a little power to seek to

enlarge it steadily toward that ultimate illusion of absolute control. Competition is a stimulating, but also a tiresome factor in making a success of one's work. Competition is the life of trade, but may cause the death of a trader. So the desire to eliminate what is apparently "destructive competition" is natural, and therefore any free government which is supportable only by a free economy, must be eternally vigilant to prevent and destroy private monopolies.

There is no easy escape from this obligation by undertaking public ownership or public regulation of monopolies. Some natural monopolies can wisely be excluded from the area of free enterprise and be state owned, like the postal service, or can be state regulated like telephone, electric and gas service. But, to preserve a free economy, the vast area in which goods and services are produced and distributed for common use must be kept free from detailed political regulation and subject to the automatic regulation of a real competition to satisfy consumer demands in an open market.

With the best intentions and large appropriations the national government cannot prevent all monopolistic practices by business men, any more than a competent police force can prevent all automobile accidents or robberies or embezzlements. In order to maintain a genuine competition as the regulator of production costs and selling prices, we must rely mainly, not on the public prosecution of monopolists but on willing obedience to anti-monopoly laws by private business managers. Those who do not already know this, should be educated to understand that the elimination of monopolistic practices is just as essential to the life of private enterprise as the elimination of dishonesty and fraud in dealing with customers and investors.

It is an extraordinary development that today the most conspicuous and effective monopolists regulating the production costs, and thereby the selling prices, of American products are not the managers who represent ownership, but those representatives of organized labor who have become in fact business regulators with great authority.

We cannot place these labor leaders on a list of lawbreaking monopolists, however, because, through a series of political blunders our national laws provide, first, that labor union monopolies can be lawfully organized, and, second, that monopolistic controls of industry and trade by labor unions are lawful.

Nevertheless, we should point out that labor leaders are blinded by self-interest and unfaithful to their free citizenship when they resist laws enacted to destroy their monopolistic powers. If these are not destroyed,

they will in the end themselves destroy a competitive economy which is the only economic system in which labor can be free.

Next on our roll of unfaithful citizens we should list those politicians who, as legislators, stretch their authority by artful evasion of constitutional limitations upon their power. Along with them are executives who stretch the authority vested in them by dubious laws. And then there should be a place of appropriate dishonor for judges who stretch their authority so as to sanctify unconstitutional laws which they personally approve, or to nullify laws which they disapprove.

There is little to be said in excuse for these constitution stretchers. Every public official is sworn to support the Constitution. The restriction of political power to preserve individual liberty is a foundation principle of the Constitution.

Therefore, whenever it is doubtful whether the Constitution has authorized our law makers to substitute government controls for individual judgment that doubt should be resolved in favor of individual liberty.

We have seen in recent years a great variety of laws enacted by Congress under the alleged authority of a constitutional grant of power to regulate commerce "among the several states". Bit by bit, local government of local commerce within the states has been destroyed. Bit by bit, executive officials have stretched their authority beyond even the vision of legislative stretchers. Bit by bit, stretching judges have sanctified the executive and legislative stretching.

Today the question is: Has the Constitution been permanently stretched out of its original shape into the prophetic shape of things to come? If we cannot restore the original shape, can we prevent further distortion? Or, shall we go on stretching it until the fabric of our government breaks down under the intolerable strain of encouraging the growth of national socialism within the frame of a government designed to secure the blessings of liberty to all its citizens?

There is another type of politician who merits dishonorable mention on our roll call. That is the fanatic champion of special interests who threatens to desert his fellow citizens in a time of national need unless his demands are met. The milder disloyalists only threaten to stop work that is essential for national defense unless wages or working conditions are made satisfactory to them. The ranker disloyalists threaten to refuse to fight for their country unless the armed services are organized and operated in accord with their ideas. It may be suggested that those who are unwilling to work or fight for their country should be relieved of all the benefits as well as the burdens of a citizenship which they betray.

Before we close our roll call we must list two opposing types of un-

faithful citizens, who are unwilling to rely solely upon lawful procedures to accomplish their aims. Both are ready and willing to resort to mob rule when they cannot gain their ends by peaceful, orderly methods.

At one extreme we have those who organize secret societies and vigilance committees, either to prevent the enforcement of laws or to take law enforcement into their own hands.

At another extreme we have those who openly organize mass picketing and gangster methods of intimidating persons who will not support the policies or submit to the discipline of labor unions.

So long as organized labor was struggling for existence, so long as the arbitrary use of money power seemed to justify the militant use of man power, so long as the law protected economic coercion by employers and restrained economic coercion by employees, the lawlessness of labor organizations had the excuse, if not the justification, of apparent necessity.

We can understand the reluctance of labor leaders now to lay aside any of the weapons with which they have waged a successful warfare to obtain the power of self-protection and self-advancement. But the abuses of this labor power by many labor leaders in recent years, the recklessness with which the entire public interest has been sacrificed, even in time of war, to advance the private interests of well organized minorities, have made it plain that the dominance of the general welfare must be reestablished by law. The law has given and the law must take away the special privileges and immunities by virtue of which labor unions have been practically licensed to violate the laws that punish all others who engage in comparable conspiracies to injure their fellow-citizens.

It is reasonable to hope and to demand that in the near future the leaders of organized labor will ally themselves with other faithful citizens in support of a government of law and order, under which men are free from all forms of public or private tyranny. Those who are unwilling to sustain such a government should openly acknowledge their preference for a dictatorship of the proletariat, and no longer pose as the champions of a democracy.

This word "democracy" is being perverted to such base uses nowadays that it would be well for every free and faithful citizen to have a clear understanding of what a democratic government should do for him and what it should not do. If he understands that our democracy should guarantee him individual liberty and equality of opportunity to pursue happiness according to his ambitions and to achieve his ambitions according to his abilities, he will be satisfied with our democratic constitutional form of government.

If, however, a citizen of the United States believes that his government

should control all property rights, a control destructive of individual liberty, and should accept responsibility for providing all citizens with employment and a state regulated income, and should establish an economic and social equality for all citizens, he cannot be faithful to our form of government. That concept of government is not written into our Constitution. It is written into the constitution of communist Russia.

It is the fashion of many who are dissatisfied with our Constitution to quote the phrase "all men are created equal", which is not written in the Constitution, but in the Declaration of Independence. However, that famous phrase is the declaration of a political principle—that is, that all men are created equal in the eye of the law. In a democracy all men have equal political rights, the right to participate equally in government and the right to equal treatment by the government.

Neither Thomas Jefferson nor any other signer of the Declaration, nor any signer of the Constitution, ever made the obviously false statement that all men are created equal in ability or character—and no one except a communist with his tongue in his cheek ever claimed that a government could or should guarantee to all men an equal share in the products of a society and an equality of treatment by the fellow-citizens.

Men are created different, and so unequal in ability and character that education cannot make a wise man out of a born fool; nor can lack of education make a fool out of a born wise man. Men are created unequal in physical as well as mental strength. A congenital weakling is not created as the physical equal of a born athlete.

Equality is not something that you are born with. It is something that you may create. You may be well born and degrade yourself to an equality with rogues. You may be poorly born and lift yourself to an equality with great servants of mankind.

Every effort by law to create an artificial equality among men is doomed to failure, because no man-made law can change a natural law. We might write an anti-gravitation law but we could not enforce it.

The founders of our government were democrats because they believed in individual liberty, but not in the liberty of men to oppress their fellow men. So they sought to safeguard the liberties of the weak as well as the strong and to protect the essential freedom of individuals and minorities from suppression by majority rule. And thus they created equality of opportunity. But they left men free to think and speak and worship as they pleased, free to associate and to make agreements with whom they pleased, free to like or to dislike things and people, regardless of what things and people other men like and dislike. They left men free to acquire and use private property, which is essential to individual liberty.

We live in a world far different from that world in which our Constitution was written. But, in all the changing years since the founding of our government, no gathering of wise men has ever designed a government that has preserved human freedom, and created opportunities for the protection and advancement of human welfare, more effectively than the government established in the Constitution of the United States.

New forms of tyranny have been devised in every decade of human history. But under the government created by our Constitution the American people for one hundred and sixty years have been developing steadfastly a greater measure of individual liberty and a higher standard of living for more people than have ever been enjoyed anywhere else on earth.

Poverty, injustice and suffering in other lands may lead their peoples to experiment with new political systems, to substitute a controlled economy for a free economy, and to relinquish liberty for political promises of security. But, here in the United States, where the masses of the people are free men and women, enjoying greater economic security and more material satisfactions and spiritual freedom than any other people have ever known, why should we lend attentive ears to the apostles of new political creeds? Why should we regard it as a progressive or liberal policy to abandon constitutional restraints upon the powers of our public officials and to invest them with an ever expanding authority to regulate our daily lives?

To give the rulers of a nation the power to make people prosperous and free from fear is to give them also the power to exploit and ruin people and make them the slaves of fear. Let us continue to withhold such dangerous power from our public officials. Let us retain our powers of self-government rooted in the soil of industrial freedom. Let us pray God that the vast majority of the men and women of America remain faithful to the only form of government under which they can remain free.

We are sunk before we start if we think, as Americans, that we know all the answers and are to 'convert' the rest of the world. Communication is a two-way street. We, as Americans, must understand the world, and we want the world to understand us.

—First Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

A PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

ROBERT G. SIMMONS
Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Nebraska

I am here today to discuss with you a program that has been initiated in Nebraska as one of the public service activities of the American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary.

I take it that you are all acquainted with the Boys' and Girls' State programs of the Legion and Auxiliary. These have proved their worth in a large majority of the states of the nation. They are established activities in the process of acquainting the future adult citizens with the functioning of the government of his state, its purpose and its ideals.

Following the pattern of Boys' State and Girls' State, we have initiated in Nebraska this year what we have named Boys' and Girls' County Government. The one program is complementary to the other. We found in Boys' and Girls' State that the emphasis in the minds of the youngsters was placed upon state government, state offices, and state affairs. That was a natural result, but one which minimized the importance of county and local government. We also discovered that but a very few of the youth attending the state meetings were able to give any practical understanding of the government that existed at home.

We undertook then to develop a system of clinics in county government where all the emphasis would be on that one function without de-emphasizing the state or national government importance. In this planning we had the cooperation of the State Teachers Association, the Department of Public Instruction, representatives of all parochial schools, the press, and many others.

We selected six counties of varying populations and school conditions. We went into those counties, and asked, and in every instance secured, the cooperation of the county officials, the schools, public and private, and public service organizations. A county chairman was selected. Our general plan was to have each school elect a set of county officers. The students in the eleventh grade were made eligible as candidates, the theory being that they were more mature than those in the lower grades, and yet would be in school another year so as to give continuity to the program. That is the group from which boy and girl "Staters" are selected in Nebraska. All students in the high school were held to be qualified electors.

Local lawyers then went into each of the schools and explained the

purposes and functions of county government and the operation of the election process, and assisted in holding the elections. Spirited election contests were held in every instance for every office. During the period of elections in the schools, the county chairman was in contact with the county officials, and briefing them in the part each was to take in the program. The county officers became the faculty, each to teach the subject of his office. In addition to that staff, local citizens were asked and prepared addresses to the youngsters on the general subject of the government at home. The program has been built around local people and local organizations. Therein lies its strength.

Some one or more public service groups agreed to furnish a lunch for those attending the Boys' and Girls' County.

The schedule for the holding of the "Counties" was so arranged that those of us who were promoting it could attend all six of the meetings.

By ten o'clock on the day oppointed, the court house was full and running over with "officials" and teachers. The general program followed was to have an assembly during the morning session. Introductions of each school and each official were made. The day's activities were outlined. Two or more speakers, selected from the community, discussed the purposes, plans, and functioning of a county government. Some of these addresses took the form of questions and answers so as to clarify the subjects discussed. Each noon at each meeting the entire group of student officers, adult officers, staff, and citizens met for lunch. At some of the lunches additional addresses were made. By that time the entire group was becoming pretty well acquainted.

In the afternoon the group was broken up. Each student officer went into the office to which he had been elected and there worked with that official on the program that he had outlined for the day. Each officer undertook to acquaint each student with that particular office. The students performed many of the tasks in the offices; they were behind the desks and in the records. Those officers who had field duties took the students with them. Civil and criminal trials, some mock, some real, were held. The functioning and importance of the jury system were demonstrated. To recite all that was done would be to review the important functions of each county office. The day closed with another assembly, and a written report by each student on his experiences, impressions and recommendations. Without exception the students and the county officials involved labeled the experiment a success.

The whole program is bottomed upon the proposition that good government begins at home, for there the reservoir of political power rests in America. It is designed to assist the schools in a program of training

for adult citizenship and to emphasize the fact that the strength and stability of the state rests upon the strength and stability of the local units of government.

The elections held in the schools bring to each student a practical understanding of the democratic process of selecting public servants, and to those who were candidates a practical demonstration of the means of offering services to the public. To those elected to offices it gives the opportunity of participating in practical clinics in matters of government. They not only see how the machinery runs but they become a part of it. They receive first-hand knowledge of the powers, duties, and importance of county office. They begin to understand the dignity of public service in a county office. They find out how county government directly touches their lives and those of their family and community. They have the opportunity to develop leadership in civic matters. They begin the building of an acquaintance with others in the county under auspicious circumstances.

For the schools it offers the basis of a county activity where the students meet not in competition but in cooperation in preparation for the duties of citizenship.

But that is not all. It has already been demonstrated that these clinics in county government have caused parents to become interested in and acquainted with their local government and officials. Boys and girls have been teaching fathers and mothers!

County officials have benefited not only as a result of a better understanding by the public of the importance of their work and their office, but have in fact learned also from this program and the contacts and suggestions that have come to them from the youth of their county.

Teachers of civil government have benefited, for they, too, have watched and supervised elections, visited the court house, been behind the counters at the desks and in the courts. They have seen the government about which they have been teaching and know better whereof they speak.

Early in this program we found that there was no textbook in our schools that adequately covered the subject of county government. We are undertaking to have such a text written from the practical standpoint to be used in the schools generally and in connection with this program. We found also that, aside from the books copying the statutes, there was no manual for county officers. We are undertaking to have one written for each office to be used as the basis for the county officials' participation in this program.

We believe that we are developing in Nebraska another program to aid in the building of a better citizenship for tomorrow. Our country tomorrow will be what those in our schools today make it. We should

furnish them good tools and knowledge of their use and an incentive to use them properly. This program is designed to aid in that accomplishment.

We have made mistakes and have had blank spots in the program. That was to be expected. We are contacting every participating student, teacher, official, and citizen. They, with good American frankness, are pointing out the mistakes, the weaknesses, and the need for additions to the program followed this first year. The encouraging thing is that without exception they urge us to go ahead, and in some cases have said we could not stop the program if we would.

Our problem now is not to persuade other counties to follow the program, but rather to hold them back until we can fully develop the organization upon which a statewide, every-county program can be based. We now vision the time about three years hence when we will have the staff, the trained personnel, and the tradition behind this movement so that we can conduct these clinics in every county every year. When that time comes, it will mean that every graduate of every high school in Nebraska will have had three years' experience in the election process, and three years of study of the practical functioning of local government. There will be literally thousands of our young citizens who will have been on the inside of their court house and know why it is there and its importance in the maintenance of our system of government for free men. For them public service in county office will be an exalted service. Literally tens of thousands of fathers and mothers will likewise understand and come so to view their local government.

I have served in county office, national office, and now in state office. I have had something to do with numerous public service activities. It is my considered judgment that I have never been connected with any activity that has the potential for good that exists in this movement which I have here briefly described.

We in Nebraska believe in this system of government that is ours; we desire to strengthen it where its power lies—at home. We shall be happy to tell any of you more about it, to aid you in adapting it to the conditions of your state, and to have your aid in improving it, not only in Nebraska, but in this America which is and must remain ours.

We must learn that progress involves change, and that change is frequently uncomfortable because it jogs us out of our ruts. Change is not necessarily distortion or "stretching out of shape": sometimes we call it improvement or progress.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

EXCERPTS FROM AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR, MAY 18, 1948

How Should Democracy Deal with Groups Which Aim to Destroy Democracy?

MODERATOR DENNY: Good evening, neighbors, Attorney General Clark, and members of the NEA. The seat of our democratic government is a most appropriate place to discuss tonight's subject. We've seen two types of totalitarianism at work in the world in our time. Both types, fascism and communism, drove to power by the use of the basic freedoms of democracy in order to destroy democracy. . . .

To protect the essentials of democracy, should we then allow those who destroy it the same rights and privileges as those who would preserve it?

Should we allow those individuals and groups who have voluntarily pledged their allegiance to a party whose first loyalty is to a foreign despotism the free use of freedoms they seek to destroy?

Tonight, we're seeking the counsel of a distinguished United States Senator who is also a leading candidate for the Republican nomination for President; a member of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities; a former Assistant Attorney General; and an eminent American journalist on the question, "How Should Democracy Deal With Groups Which Aim to Destroy Democracy?"

We're to hear first from the former Assistant Attorney General, a Democrat and a New Dealer, now a practising attorney here in Washington, who tonight finds himself in agreement with a certain candidate for the Republican nomination for President, Judge Thurman Arnold. Judge Arnold. . . .

JUDGE ARNOLD: I am aware that Communists are reaching into this country, trying to use our freedom of speech in order to destroy our freedoms; trying to subvert our Constitutional guarantees for totalitarian ends. They think this will succeed because they believe freedom of speech is unworkable.

Men like Mr. Stassen and Mr. Nixon, sincere and conscientious though they may be, have, unfortunately for all of us, the same lack of faith in the strength of our democratic institutions that Russia has. They do not want to trust the American people to reject communism thru the process of free election in which ideas subversive to our own system may be advocated and voted down.

Such men are unwittingly walking arm in arm with the Communists. They have become fellow travelers without knowing it. They are under-

mining the confidence of the American people in the effectiveness of free speech and free association as a bulwark of democracy, and that precisely is what Russia is trying to do.

There have been times in the past, like today, when we wavered in our confidence and faith in democracy, when we prosecuted dissenting groups with ideas which were contrary to our way of life.

Our Puritan oligarchy saw in the Quakers a threat against their church government. They passed savage legislation to drive Quakers from New England. The result was to strengthen the Quakers and to write a chapter in our history of which today we are ashamed.

After the Revolution, the Federalist Party passed the infamous Alien and Sedition Law aimed at suppressing agents of the French Government who were the Communists of that time. Instead of strengthening the Federalist Party, those laws helped to destroy it.

In the sixteenth century, Spain had a great empire spreading over the old world and the new. Elizabeth of England was a heretic. That to the Spaniards meant what communism today means to us. Elizabeth was conducting a cold war against Philip, using, like Stalin today, every device of chicanery and deception. She secretly commissioned privateers like Drake and Hawkins to prey on Spanish commerce, while publicly denying it.

Philip of Spain thought he had the answer. He believed that he could strengthen Spain by destroying heresy and so every time Elizabeth's privateers sank a Spanish ship or raided a Spanish town, heretics were burned.

This solved no problems for Spain. Instead, it bled Spain white.

. . . . Today, we are attacking our scientists, we are creating a paralyzing atmosphere of doubt and fear over this country. If we meet those who join a party to promote communism in democratic debate at the polls, we will not only beat them, we will reduce them to a crackpot rate.

Governor Dewey said that so far as protection against foreign agents or danger of violence is concerned, our present laws are sufficient. He implied that if you take the unconstitutional part out of the Mundt Bill, there will be nothing left which adds anything to what we already have.

I only regret that he did not point out that the Mundt Bill is a symptom of panic that adds fuel to the witch hunt that is now going on, that in substance is an expression of lack of confidence in American democracy. . . .

MODERATOR DENNY: We are happy to welcome back to Town Meeting, the distinguished Senator from Ohio, who is also a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, the Honorable Robert A. Taft. Senator Taft. . . .

SENATOR TAFT: A feeling of uncertainty and lack of confidence prevails

thruout the United States today, because the American people don't know whether or not we face a Third World War against communism. . . .

The threat of communist progress here is less perhaps than it was a year ago, because the popular feeling against Russian aggression is much stronger, but it is still here. The only reasonable conclusion from the facts is that the communist movement here and elsewhere is directed from Russia. Therefore, it is not only an attack aimed at the destruction of American principles of government but aimed at the freedom of the American people.

The only question we have to meet is the best method of acting to check that attack. I fully agree that we must not violate the Constitution. We do not want to abandon the principles of liberty found in the Bill of Rights lest we ourselves destroy, here at home, the very freedom we are trying to protect.

I do not think we can make it illegal to be a Communist or to think communism or to talk communism if it does not go to the extent of advocating the seizure of the government by violence.

Therefore, we cannot outlaw communism but certainly there are steps we can take. We can see that the government itself does not employ Communists. We have passed laws to that effect.

We can refuse privileges to labor unions who elect communist officers as we have done in the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Denham of the National

Reading left to right: Richard Milhous Nixon, Representative from California; George V. Denny, Jr., moderator, America's Town Meeting of the Air; Judge Thurman Arnold, former justice, Circuit Court of Appeals, District of Columbia; Ralph Emerson McGill, editor, The Atlantic Constitution; *Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Robert A. Taft, Senator from Ohio; Earle T. Hawkins, president, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland.*

Labor Relations Board says this has proved to be one of the most effective anti-Red weapons in existence. The infiltration into labor unions is one of the easiest and most effective weapons used by communism, notably in Czechoslovakia.

In the third place, we can bring Communists out into the open so that the people are advised whether they are Communists or not. One of the most effective weapons of advancing communism is the concealment of the communist connections.

The un-American Activities Committee has done real service in letting the people know of Communists in influential positions so that we can form a more intelligent judgment of their writings and speeches. The Mundt-Nixon Bill pursues the same principle of bringing Communists into the open, by requiring communist organizations to register so that propaganda cannot be carried on without the people being advised of its source.

I have not studied all the details of the Mundt Bill. I have some criticism of the definition of communist political organizations and communist-front organizations. The definition may amount to such a badge of disloyalty as to drive all Communists underground and defeat the purpose of the bill. But I do feel that communist connection with a foreign government has such a strong presumption to support it today that registration under some definition should certainly be required.

In the last analysis, however, our success against communism in the world and our success against communism at home depend upon the education of the peoples of the world in the principles of free government.

We must make as strong a crusade for those principles thruout the world as the Communists are making for communism.

We have a better cause. We did it after 1776. The principles of liberty spread thruout the world until they dominated the thinking of a large section of the world thruout the nineteenth century. We must stop apologizing for our form of government. We must constantly seek to improve the condition of our people, but we must point out that already our system has succeeded in bringing about that improvement where totalitarianism has always failed.

We must renew our faith in liberty and equality and justice under law. If we can bring this battle out into the open, on the basis of history and logic, our faith must, and will, prevail.

MODERATOR DENNY: Our next speaker is not only a distinguished representative of the South but is a world citizen who has represented his country on many international commissions and surveys. He is the editor of the

Atlanta Constitution, and one of the most highly respected men in his profession of journalism, Mr. Ralph McGill. Mr. McGill.

MR. MCGILL: Ladies and gentlemen. It is pleasing to me, a Southern Democrat who isn't going to bolt his party (laughter and applause) to be in agreement with Senator Taft, in opposition to legislative attempts to outlaw Communists, Fascists, or other subversive groups.

Democracy hasn't any reason to be afraid of its processes if it keeps them vital. We can best outlaw the Communist Party by fully participating in our own government. The only new legislation I'd like to see is a law requiring every person to vote.

The bill proposed by the House Committee, quite sincerely and patriotically I know, seems to me an effort to get at communism through the side door. It does not ban the party per se, but proposes severe penalties for any person or group seeking to establish a totalitarian dictatorship.

That is a moot proposal. The Communists never establish a totalitarian dictatorship until they control the government. As Eastern Europe plainly demonstrates today, it is then too late for a law to operate.

The lie and the change of coats are communist techniques. They operate under many names and they ride many coat tails. The latest illustration is in the Wallace Third Party Campaign.

Law, for example, could not deal with the transparent communist use of the Wallace campaign as illustrated by the recent open letter exchange between Prime Minister Stalin and Mr. Wallace. It was obvious long ago that someone in the Wallace board of strategy has access to information from Soviet sources in this country.

Having used the Wallace campaign as a propaganda vehicle to present the Soviet Union as the only nation really seeking world peace, I think we may now expect the Communist Party to disavow Mr. Wallace, and thereby seek to get him more votes.

Our Federal Constitution and laws already existing prohibit certain activities of our citizens, such as treason, conspiracy, oaths of allegiance to foreign powers, and so on. It may be desirable to amplify these, but I doubt the necessity of it. The best weapon is to bring the Communists and their activities into the open.

The danger in outlawing legislation is that it always develops cracks in its own fence, and as more laws are added to plug them up, we soon deprive ourselves of our own rights in seeking to control a minority.

Under our Constitution, the citizen has the right to advocate radical social changes or changes of government.

Perjury and the lie are communist weapons—I've already said so before.

Therefore, the loyalty oath and the pledge of allegiance, it seems to me, would be made a mockery by this communist technique.

History is a good teacher. Let us call the roll of communist despots who head the communist satellite states of Eastern Europe. We will find that every one of them at one time or another was in jail, when the Communist Party was outlawed in their countries as the then-existing governments sought to protect against communism with jail sentences.

Josip Broz, now Tito of Jugoslavia, was jailed by King Alexander's anti-Communist laws from 1928 until just before the Spanish Civil War began.

Dimitrov of Bulgaria, now head of that state, was in jail for 10 years.

Ana Pauker is the leading Communist authority in Rumania. She has been in and out of jail since 1918. There are many others.

Our best defense is to set our own house in order. We cannot protect ourselves by becoming hysterical and becoming afraid of our own institutions and our own resources, and our own faith in our own democracy.

MODERATOR DENNY: Mr. Nixon—also a Quaker, Mr. Arnold—is a Congressman from California, and a member of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities, and is co-author of the so-called Mundt-Nixon Bill. Congressman Nixon. . . .

CONGRESSMAN NIXON: The Mundt-Nixon bill presently before the House is the legislative approach to the communist problem in the United States. It has been carefully drafted so as not to violate constitutional freedoms, but at the same time to be effective against the threat with which we are faced.

The bill carefully separates the subversive from those who with honest intentions disagree with the status quo on any issue in the United States.

In the legislative approach to the problem, which has been posed in tonight's question, we started from the premise that it is necessary to strike a balance between liberty to oppose our government and license to subvert our freedoms to the domination of a foreign conspiracy.

This legislative approach is not aimed—and this is important—at communism as an ideology, and I agree whole-heartedly with Mr. Arnold and Mr. McGill on that point, but at the subversive activities of Communists in the United States at which legislation can and should be directed.

The bill is aimed at accomplishing two major objectives.

1. It strikes at the unquestionably subversive activities of communist activity in the United States by making it a crime for any person to attempt, in any manner, to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship under the domination of a foreign power. Both elements are necessary. This provision is based on the principle that no person should have

the right to abuse constitutional freedoms by working for the establishment of a foreign-dominated dictatorship in the United States which would destroy the freedom of all but those in power.

2. The bill is aimed, as Senator Taft has explained, at exposing the foreign domination and character of the communist movement in the United States by requiring the Communist Party and organizations controlled by it to register with the Attorney General.

A carefully worked out procedure for administrative hearings and court reviews—incidentally, a great improvement over the present ex parte proceedings being followed by the Attorney General—is set up in the bill so as to protect innocent people and organizations from being affected by the registration requirements.

This provision, in effect, will let the American people know who the members of the Communist Party are, what organizations are dominated and controlled by them. Secrecy and fraud are essential to the success of the communist movement. Once the foreign-dominated character of the movement is exposed, I am confident that the American people will over-whelmingly reject it.

From a study of the bill's major provisions, it will be seen that it does not attempt to outlaw communism as a theory. Ideas must be combated with ideas and not with legislation, but we have, on the contrary, sought to strike a body blow at the American cadre of the foreign-directed communist conspiracy. We believe that if its subversive activities are prosecuted, its false fronts exposed, and its foreign assistance and direction cut away, the movement in the United States, standing alone for what it is, will be overwhelmingly defeated in the open market place of political ideas.

Far from injuring true liberal and progressive movements, the enactment and enforcement of this bill will be an outstanding contribution to such causes in the United States. Every liberal cause which the Communists touch is irreparably damaged by them, and if Communists are spotlighted for the foreign agents that they are, truly liberal and progressive groups will be able successfully to resist communist efforts to subvert humanitarian causes to their own ends.

I do not contend that legislation alone is enough to meet the threat of communism to democracy. The bill now before Congress is not the complete answer to the communist problem in the United States. Education without question is a powerful weapon at our disposal in this fight. . . .

AUDIENCE QUESTION PERIOD

MR. DENNY: We're going to begin our question period tonight with a statement and a question from a young man from Hawarden, Iowa, a junior

at Hawarden High School. He is the winner of a forum contest conducted by Station WNAX at Sioux City, Iowa. Richard Ball, aged 17, is a football letterman, interested in athletics and politics. He has a comment and a question for Congressman Nixon. Mr. Ball.

MR. BALL: . . . I believe the most effective way to defeat groups which aim to destroy democracy is by educating and informing the American public —young and old.

Education should have as its objective the reawakening of our civic responsibilities. We, as a people, have become too complacent, too engrossed in our own personal affairs. Perhaps if each generation had to rewin the precious liberty we now enjoy, we might better appreciate our American heritage. This will not be necessary if we only fulfill our obligation as citizens.

My generation should be informed in the classrooms of our schools about subversive groups. Let us learn the need for greater civic responsibilities, such as voting, accepting jury positions, and holding public office, all of which are fundamental in the cause of democracy.

I would suggest we institute a course in schools in philosophies of government; compare the foreign systems with our democracy; point out that under communist and fascist systems inalienable human rights and freedoms are surrendered and a lower standard of living does prevail.

I believe such an educational program would clear up much of the confused thinking that exists today. One hundred and forty million *informed* Americans can be the greatest force for freedom the world has ever known.

I would direct this question to Representative Nixon: How can we best instruct the youth of this country to judge and differentiate between comparative forms of government so that they may know and understand that democracy is the best system?. . . .

CONGRESSMAN NIXON: I want to say first of all that that was a magnificent statement and if that is an indication of the kind of young leadership that we're going to have in the future, I'm all for it. In fact, the statement was so good that I think that our educational system is standing up pretty well when you see what it produces.

Now, Mr. Dick Ball has asked me what kind of education we can have in order to point out to the youth of America the differences between these various systems. That's a question which an educator can answer better probably than a Congressman, I can assure you.

But I would say briefly this: I think it is essential that the truth be told, the truth about fascism, the truth about communism, the truth about

democracy. I'm confident that if the truth is told that the forces of democracy will win the battle.

I think that all should be told. I do not think that any of the truth should be suppressed and that is the reason that our bill does not aim at the teaching of a theory or teaching about a theory. We want the facts to come out and for the light of day to shine upon them.

LADY: I'm an engineer and attorney and a former member of the New Jersey legislature. Senator Taft, I wish to ask you this. Do you feel that the present proceedings of the House un-American Activities Committee are being conducted in a democratic manner?

SENATOR TAFT: Yes. I think—I tried to say it in my speech—I think one of the things that it is proper to do under present circumstances is to show the American people who are Communists and who are not, who have communist connections and who do not have those connections. That's one reason why I think communist organizations, those having some connection with communism, all of such organizations should be required to register.

MAN: Mr. McGill, you say you want to bring Communists into the open. Do you approve of the refusal of the ten Hollywood writers and directors to disclose whether or not they were members of the Communist Party?

MR. MCGILL: I think that they had a right to refuse to do so until their legal status was qualified and defined. Yes, sir. . . .

MAN: A question for Mr. Arnold. You call the judicial process "trial by combat." Why has this judicial process failed to combat active treason and spying by the Communists?

MR. ARNOLD: I don't think it has failed to combat active treason and spying by the Communists. I think that some of the questions at this meeting are dictated by sheer panic. I don't think there's going to be a communist vote you can put in your eye. I don't think there's any communist power. I think a lot of the people who are going to vote for Wallace are going to vote as a protest against the two other parties, and deny they ever voted for him.

DISCUSSION SUMMARIES BY SPEAKERS

JUDGE ARNOLD: Mr. Moderator, it's high time that men in Congress stopped trying to make Americans afraid of their own institutions and suspicious of each other. Let's fight Russia with affirmative measures, not with panic. Let's show the Russians that freedom of speech is a source of strength, not of weakness.

SENATOR TAFT: The best weapon against communism is the aggressive,

affirmative spreading of the principles of free government throughout the world. Nevertheless communism is a great revolutionary movement, a crusade. It is something which we, under our liberty, cannot outlaw, but I do think wherever it undertakes any important activities, we should prohibit those activities to prevent the accomplishment of their purposes. I think, furthermore, we should reveal to the American people the existence of communism, who is a Communist and who is not.

MR. MCGILL: All of us are joined in opposition to communism and all of us wish to bring Communists out into the open and let the people know them. I happen to think that the law, as proposed, would meet with the same fate as the Prohibition Law and for the same reason. I agree thoroly with Senator Taft. Let us go to work and put our own house in order. Build houses, pass his housing bill, and the public health bill, and let's put our own house in order.

CONGRESSMAN NIXON: I thoroly agree with what the previous speakers have said in regard to making democracy better as one of the most effective weapons against communism. The reason that I feel very, very strongly and sincerely that intelligent legislation will meet the communist evil, to expose the Communists for what they are, and to keep them from accomplishing their ends in the United States is because I feel so strongly that meetings just like this where able people, particularly the three other speakers, can get up and clash with their views, can continue to be held in America.

Let's remember, too, that the fellow who disagrees with us may be termed a "disloyalist" or he may be an honest fellow, with an honest idea of what ought to be. Name calling can easily become a little man's way of dodging big social issues.

—Third Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

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National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education
National Commission on Safety Education, national education association
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National Committee for Mental Hygiene
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National Congress of American Indians
National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
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Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction
Pennsylvania State Education Association
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SKETCHES OF SPEAKERS AND PRESIDING OFFICERS

THURMAN W. ARNOLD, familiarly known as the "trust buster" during his term in the United States Department of Justice (1938-1943), was born in Wyoming. Tho he came East for his education and began his practice of law in Chicago, he returned to his home town, Laramie, to practice and to lecture in law at the University. Mr. Arnold has served as dean of the College of Law of the University of West Virginia, as professor of law at Yale, and, from 1943 to 1945, as associate justice of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

WILLIAM G. CARR, associate secretary of the National Education Association, is also executive secretary of the Educational Policies Commission and secretary general of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession. Among Dr. Carr's international assignments, he served as deputy secretary of the General Preparatory Commission of Unesco at London in 1945; Unesco month lecturer, Sorbonne, 1946; and advisor to the United States delegation to the Second General Conference on Unesco at Mexico City, 1947. Dr. Carr is author of *One World In the Making* and other works.

TOM C. CLARK, a native Texan, was admitted to the bar of the state of Texas in 1922; the Texas Supreme Court in 1922; the United States Supreme Court in 1932. In the United States Department of Justice since 1937, he served first as special attorney, Bureau of War Risk Litigation, later as special assistant to the attorney general assigned to the Anti-Trust Division and in other posts. From 1943 to 1945 he was assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division. In those positions and as attorney general since 1945, he has become known as champion of liberal causes.

RUTH M. CUNNINGHAM is associate professor of education and research associate in the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. Her areas of specialization are child development and curriculum.

Born in Tokyo, Japan, she took her Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan. With a background in teaching and retailing, she was for five years executive secretary of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association and editor of *Educational Leadership*.

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., was born in Washington, North Carolina. After graduating from the state university and teaching dramatic production there four years, he spent a year on Broadway, was manager of a lecture bureau, and in 1927 became director of the program of adult education at the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University. In 1930 he went to Town Hall and in 1937 became president of the institution. In 1935 he founded and has continuously served as moderator of "America's Town Meeting of the Air."

MRS. RHEA M. ECKEL, one of the founders of the New York State Citizens' Council, has served continuously on the staff and is now serving as executive secretary. She is a leader in organizational activities in the fields of education, social welfare, and community planning. One of 15 American women leaders invited to attend the first International Assembly of Women in Paris in 1947, she served on committees with women from 50 countries and led discussions in both formal and informal sessions.

NORMAN GERSTENFELD, native of England, trained at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, serves as minister of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. Rabbi Gerstenfeld is former chairman of the Committee on Religious Life in the Nation's Capital. For 14 years he has conducted a weekly broadcast of religious messages which has reached millions of people throughout the country.

WILLARD E. GIVENS, executive secretary of the National Education Association since 1935, is a native of Indiana. From 1923 to 1925 he was superintendent of public instruction in Hawaii. In that position and as superintendent of schools in San Diego and Oakland, California, he held many voluntary offices in state and national civic and professional organizations. In 1946 he was a member of the United States Education Mission to Japan. Mr. Givens is author of numerous articles in educational and lay magazines.

LAURENCE C. GORMAN, S. J., clergyman and educator, was born in New York City. After degrees received from

Fordham University and Boston College he was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in Woodstock College, Maryland, in 1932. In 1938 he received his Ph.D. from the Gregorian University in Rome, Italy. Since 1942 he has served as president of Georgetown University.

FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS was brought up in New Jersey; received his higher education in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., and Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; holds the honorary degrees of LL. D. and Litt. D. His first pastorates were in Trenton and Long Branch, N. J. He came to his present charge, Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., in 1924, from Grace Methodist Church, New York City. From 1942 to 1946, Dr. Harris served as chaplain of the United States Senate. Dr. Harris writes a weekly editorial under "Spires of the Spirit" for *The Washington Sunday Star*, and is a member of the National Press Club.

EARLE T. HAWKINS is president of State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland, and vice president of the National Education Association. As chairman of the NEA's Citizenship Committee, Dr. Hawkins served also as chairman of the conference planning committees and of the conferences themselves, at the First National Conference on Citizenship in Philadelphia, at the Second National Conference in Boston, and at the Third in Washington. Dr. Hawkins, formerly a member of the staff of the Maryland State Department of Education, helped to unite educational forces and secure many educational gains in his state.

CARL B. HYATT, former teacher and high-school principal, served for eight years as judge of the Juvenile Court of Asheville, North Carolina. Now director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program, he is also chairman of the Federal Bar Association's Committee on Citizenship, honorary chairman of the District of Columbia "I Am an American Day" Committee, special consultant to the NEA Citizenship Committee, and member of the Executive Committee of the Third National Conference on Citizenship. In 1948, he was cited and awarded a certificate of appreciation by the secretary of the army, Kenneth Royal, for his contribution to the significance of citizenship during the war period.

KATHARINE F. LENROOT, chief of the Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, served as chairman of the United States Delegation of both the Fifth and Sixth Pan-American Child Congresses, and as president of the Eighth Pan-American Child Congress. A former president of the National Conference of Social Work, Miss Lenroot has served as executive secretary of the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, adviser to United States government delegates to the International Labor Organization in Paris in 1945, and in many other national and international roles.

RALPH EMERSON MCGILL, a native of Tennessee, had his first newspaper experience on a paper of that state. In 1931, he became sports editor of the *Constitution* in Atlanta, Ga. In 1938, he was made executive editor. Since 1942 he has served as editor. In 1937, Mr. McGill was awarded the Rosenwald Fellowship for travel in Europe. He has also served as special advisor and consultant to the Department of State.

WATSON B. MILLER, federal security administrator from 1945 to 1947, has served as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice since August 26, 1947. Mr. Miller was active in the development of the American Legion after the First World War. In 1922 he served as national vicecommander, and in 1923 he became director of the Legion's National Rehabilitation Committee. During the next 18 years he devoted his attention to problems of rehabilitation, hospitalization and the care and welfare of disabled veterans and their dependents.

RICHARD M. NIXON, a World War II veteran, is one of the younger members of the United States House of Representatives. Elected to the Eightieth Congress from the Twelfth California District, Mr. Nixon has been much publicized for his advocacy of the Mundt-Nixon bill. Mr. Nixon served as lieutenant commander in the United States Navy from 1942 to 1946.

ALFRED C. OLIVER, known as the "Chaplain of Bataan," is former national chaplain of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Colonel Oliver was born in New Jersey, received his education at Princeton University, and served in the New Jersey Conference of The Methodist Church. His army assignments included service in Hawaii and in China. Reported missing in action May 7, 1942 at Corregidor and detained by the enemy in

the Philippines, he was rescued from Cabanatuan in 1945. His honors include the Purple Heart, the Oak Leaf Cluster to the Purple Heart, the Bronze Star, the II Oak Leaf Clusters to the Bronze Star, and the Legion of Merit.

DONALD R. RICHBERG, lawyer and author of *Government and Business Tomorrow* and other works, served variously in government administrative positions as general counsel to the NRA, executive director of the National Emergency Council, and chairman of the NRA Board. A native of Tennessee, Mr. Richberg first practiced in Chicago and served as master in chancery, Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, from 1916 to 1919. In his public service career before he retired to private practice in 1936 were some years as special assistant to the attorney general of Arizona (1929-33) and service as special assistant to the attorney general of the United States (1936).

ROBERT G. SIMMONS, a native of Nebraska, has been chief justice of his State Supreme Court since 1938. He served as United States Congressman from the Sixth Nebraska District from 1923 to 1933. A World War I veteran, he is past commander of the American Legion, Department of Nebraska.

T. V. SMITH, radio and platform lecturer, and professor of philosophy at the University of Illinois, is author of *The Democratic Way of Life* and a score of other well known books. In 1944 he served as director of education of the Allied Control Commission in Italy and in 1945 as director of Democratization of Select German Prisoners of War. He was a member of the United States Education Missions to both Japan and Germany. Among other posts of prominence, he served as a member of the Seventy-sixth Congress (1939-41), elected from Illinois at large.

WILLIS SMITH, lawyer of Raleigh, North Carolina, and former speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives, has held many positions of honor and trust in the American Bar Association, including the presidency in 1945-46 and observer at the Nuremberg Trials in 1946. Mr. Smith was a member of the President's Amnesty Board in 1947 and is chairman of the Board of Trustees of Duke University.

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER, United States Commissioner of Education, 1934-1948, is known for his promotion of public forum demonstrations thruout the United States. As superintendent of schools in Des Moines, Iowa, a position in which he served from 1920-1934, he was conceded to have organized "the most comprehensive and carefully planned program of public forums ever inaugurated under public auspices." Since August 1948, he has been vicepresident and chairman of the editorial board of *Scholastic Magazines*.

ROBERT A. TAFT, United States Senator from Ohio, first child of Mr. and Mrs. William Howard Taft, graduated first in his 1910 Yale class, graduated first in the 1913 class of Harvard Law School, and passed the Ohio Bar examination with highest honors in the State. During his university training, his father became the twenty-sixth President of the United States.

He has served his state as Republican Floor Leader and Speaker in the Ohio House of Representatives and as a member of the Ohio Senate. Elected to the United States Senate in 1938 and re-elected in 1944 he served as chairman of the Senate Republican Majority Policy Committee in the Eightieth Congress.

It is important that we have strong national leadership and national action, but national action can't stand unless it has support from state and local organizations and individuals, and that means you and me.

—Second Thumbnail Report
Third National Conference on Citizenship

PEOPLE WHO HELPED ORGANIZE THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

AHERMO, LUDMILLA, DJ
ALBRECHT, RAY, DJ
AVERY, EDWINA V. A., DJ
BACON, HAROLD H., DJ
BAKER, WALDRON, DJ
BALESTRA, LOUIS J., DJ
BOWDEN, ADELINE K., NEA
BOWEN, VIRGINIA M., DJ
BOWMAN, EVELYN D., DJ
BOYER, LEO W., NEA
BRYAN, FLORENCE E., DJ
BUTLER, CHARLES F., DJ
CAMPBELL, HELEN, NEA
CLARK, GERTRUDE D., DJ
COHEN, ISIDORE, DJ
CONNERAN, HALTRUDUS, NEA
CORNELL, CORNELIA N., DJ
COWELL, HELEN T., DJ
CROWN, LOUISE, NEA
CUTSHAW, EVELYN, NEA
DA COSTA, MARJORIE, NEA
DALZELL, CHARLES J., DJ
DAMERON, VERNON G., NEA
DAVIS, LUCILLE, NEA
DIDRA, WARREN E., DJ
DOLAN, BERNICE M., DJ
DONAHUE, RUTH, DJ
DOWNES, EUGENE E., DJ
DOYLE, THOMAS A., DJ
DRIVER, SALLY, NEA
ELLISON, LUCILE, NEA
EPES, EDWARD S., DJ
FARLEY, BELMONT, NEA
FARRELL, ELIZABETH, DJ
FISH, ROSE T., DJ
FOGLE, JR., CHARLES C., DJ
GANGLOFF, HAROLD A., DJ
GASS, IDA F., DJ
GRAVES, WALTER A., NEA
GRAY, FRANCES L., DJ
GRIEDEL, WILHELMINA F., DJ
GRIGGS, EMMETT R., DJ
GUY, FRANCIS E., NEA
HANRAHAN, JAMES J., DJ
HARE, JULIAN M., DJ
HARDY, SUSAN L., DJ
HARTWELL, PHYLLIS DEE, DJ
HERSHEY, CHARLES T., DJ
HIBBARD, WILLIAM, DJ
HOLLAND, VIRGINIA, DJ
HYATT, CARL B., DJ
HYSON, RITA, DJ
JASPER, EDITH K., DJ
JENNETTE, MILDRED, NEA
KAPLAN, DORA, DJ
KARNIS, LENORE F., DJ
KENNAN, RICHARD B., NEA
KINNAIRD, VIRGINIA, NEA
KRYSA, A. F., DJ
LAMORE, DOROTHY, NEA
LANE, MARGARET, NEA
LOTMAN, BEATRICE, DJ
MANGIN, MARTHA ANN, DJ
MANGIN, NORA, DJ
MANNE, JACQUELINE, NEA
MASON, MEDORA, NEA
MATES, LILLIAN L., DJ
MATONIS, FRANCES, DJ
MCCALLUM, LOIS, DJ
MCCASKILL, KATHRYN
MCCAULEY, GEORGE A., NEA
MCNEILL, MARY B., DJ
MEADE, JEAN, NEA
MENDELSOHN, RUTH, DJ
MILLER, KATHLEEN P., DJ
MISKIN, REBA, B'NAI B'RITH
MITCHELL, MARY V., DJ
MOE, WARREN G., DJ
MORGAN, ALICE E., DJ
MORJE, IDA C., DJ
NARAMORE, W. W., DJ
O'HARA, EDWARD M., DJ
PEAK, RODNEY E., DJ
PENNINGTON, RUTH W., DJ
PERRY, CYRUS C., NEA
PFLEIGER, RUSSELL C., DJ
PRIOR, F. ERLE, NEA
RAMSEY, JAMES C., JR., DJ
RECTOR, LENA E., DJ
RITANO, FRANK N., DJ
RUBIN, ERNEST, DJ
RUBIN, ROBERT, DJ
SCHOMBERT, JANE, NEA
SEBASTIAN, CHRISTINE, DJ
SHAFFER, SUSANNE, DJ
SILVERT, BLANCHE J., DJ
SIMON, THELMA, NEA
SIMPSON, MAY S., DJ
SLOAN, LYDIA B., DJ
SMITH, FRANCES, DJ
SMITH, RAYMOND T., DJ
SMITH, THOMAS P., DJ
STANSBURY, WILLIAM F., DJ
STEWART, MYRTLE M., DJ
STRIEFF, ROBERT P., DJ
THOMAS, ELIZABETH, DJ
WATKINS, ORRIN G., DJ
WILLIS, LINA, NEA
WILSON, ROY K., NEA
WOOLLEY, DE GRAFFENREID, NEA
ZIMMERMAN, ELIZABETH, NEA

NEA—National Education Association.
DJ—Department of Justice.

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